7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

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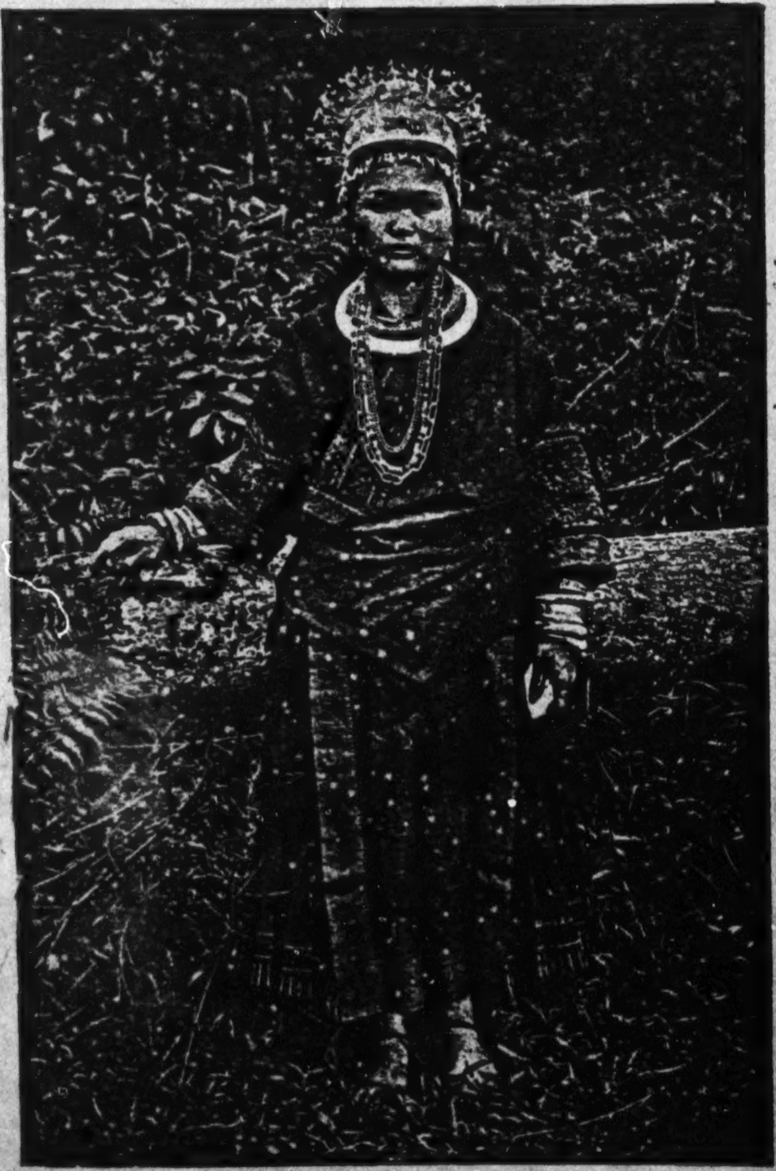

Photo by *Robert Powell.*

A BLACK MIAO (HEH MIAO) MAIDEN IN FESTIVE ATTIRE.

The necklets, bracelets, and crown are all made of silver.

Frontispiece.

[p. ii]
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AMONG THE TRIBES

000

IN

SOUTH-WEST CHINA

BY

SAMUEL R. CLARKE

FOR THIRTY-THREE YEARS A MISSIONARY IN CHINA

CHINA INLAND MISSION
LONDON, PHILADELPHIA, TORONTO, MELBOURNE
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PREFACE

ONE of the most striking features of missionary work in Asia to-day is the remarkable progress of the Gospel among the humbler races of that great Continent. In India, we are told, the great mass movements, which are either just beginning or are in full progress among the depressed classes, are at present attracting the greatest attention. In Korea, the recent history of which country has not inaptly been termed a tragedy, the progress of Christianity is one of the marvels of modern Missions. And in China, the great spiritual awakening among the despised non-Chinese races of Kweichow and Yunnan has many things in common with that in Korea.

These movements of God's Spirit cannot be accidental, though they may be like the wind which bloweth where it listeth. They consequently deserve careful consideration, for they may have valuable lessons for the student of Missions to learn. They can hardly fail to remind us that to-day, as in the days of Christ, God is pleased to reveal to babes things hidden

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from the wise and prudent. They may also have an important bearing upon the questions of missionary methods and missionary qualifications which are exercising the minds of not a few just now. Above all, they certainly emphasise the importance of belief in and dependence upon the working of the Holy Spirit.

Until the last few years, little has been known about the non-Chinese tribes of south-west China. With the friendly and even intimate relationships now established between the missionary and some of the tribes that ignorance is passing away. Hitherto, however, comparatively little has been published about them beyond a number of isolated articles in missionary magazines and some small booklets. The official reports of Mr. Colborne Baber and Mr. Consul Bourne are perhaps the chief exceptions. The present work it is therefore hoped will meet a distinct need.

114 The author, the Rev. Samuel R. Clarke, who for thirty-three years has been a missionary in China, by reason of a residence of more than twenty years in Kweichow, and his careful study of the tribes, their customs, and some of their languages, has special qualifications for the writing of a more detailed account. It should be mentioned that the author, when he came home on furlough, had no thought of writing a book. He has therefore not had the advantages of reference to his own library and notes. This

volume, however, is his kind response to a request that he would publish the story of the work of grace among the non-Chinese tribes of Kweichow, and it will, we feel sure, find many grateful readers. The book, as it will be seen, is divided into two parts, with Appendices. Part I. deals with the Tribes and their Customs, etc., and Part II. with the work done among them. The Appendices, with their philological tables, will be of special value to the student. There may be some who may prefer to read the Second Part first, but those who may do so will hardly fail to want to know the facts about the people themselves recorded in Part I.

It is a remarkable fact that in the provinces of Kweichow and Yunnan, where work among the Chinese has been notoriously barren and unfruitful, this great work of grace among the non-Chinese tribes should have broken out. Communities which a few years ago were ignorant, degraded, and immoral, are now pure and Christian. Scores of villages have become wholly Christian, and hundreds of other villages are nominally Christian. One worker has estimated that, as the result of the work of the last seven or eight years, there are now some 50,000 of these people at least nominally Christian.

The strain upon those engaged in this work is not small. The area over which the work extends is many thousands of square miles, and the country is mountainous, some of the villages being situated about 8000 feet above sea-level. Anshunfu, with its 16 out-stations, has only 9 workers (5 men, 3 wives, and 1 single lady). Yet in this district, about one hundred and fifty miles from north to south, 1480 aborigines were baptized in 1906, more than 500 in 1907, 800 during 1908, 356 during 1909, and 260 during 1910. At the close of 1910 the total number of Communicants, not to speak of adherents, was 3500. What are 9 workers for the oversight of such a district, with such scattered congregations! The district around Sapushan in Yunnan, also extending about one hundred miles from limit to limit, has 24 out-stations, but only 4 foreign workers. It may also be added that in the whole of the province of Kweichow, in which (if Shihmenkan and neighbourhood be excepted) the China Inland Mission is the only Protestant Mission, there is no medical missionary. In Yunnan the one medical missionary connected with the China Inland Mission is now away on furlough.

An hospital, however, is in course of erection in the Anshunfu district for use in the work among the tribes-people. This is being built with funds specially contributed for that purpose, though as yet there is no doctor to take charge. If the publication of this book should do nothing else than lead to this need being supplied, it would doubtless gratify the author; but greater things than these are hoped.

The following graphic and generous description of one of the small band of workers—which may be taken as applicable to the others—written by the Rev. Samuel Pollard, of the United Methodist Mission, who has himself an intimate knowledge of the work, and who has been richly blessed in his own labours, will help the reader to picture the missionaries at their work, and show how much these interesting peoples and the self-denying workers need and deserve the support which only can be given by sympathetic prayer :—

"The South Australian missionary, Rev. Arthur G. Nicholls, and his few colleagues, some Australian and some English, who are working like Trojans in the midst of God's great prairie fire, may also be reckoned among the heroes who are establishing the kingdom of heaven upon earth. I have wondered what one like Ralph Connor would do with Arthur Nicholls if he only knew his story. Loved and trusted by multitudes, despised and hated by many, cut off from the comforts and pleasures of civilisation, facing a thousand and one dangers, healing the sick, teaching the ignorant, comforting the bereaved, playing with the children, stamping out drink and opium, fighting the demon of impurity, showing a timid people how to be self-reliant and enterprising, and returning to his headquarters every few weeks, like a man who has been touching the very bedrock of humanity, Arthur Nicholls goes on his way little thinking what a hero he is, and counting himself repaid over and over again because the people love him. I wonder what the Master will by and by say to these brave workers?"

Could the brave workers, toiling amid these overwhelming though encouraging conditions, voice what is in their hearts as a preface to this volume, they would doubtless emphasise the wonderful opportunities which now exist for work among these tribes. They might also suggest that these opportunities may not wait, though at present there seems no limit to the good which might be done if the Church of God were to adequately respond to this modern cry from another Macedonia. But whatever they might or might not say, they certainly would, out of a full heart, plead—"Brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may run and be glorified."

MARSHALL BROOMHALL.

China Inland Mission, London,
28th March 1911.

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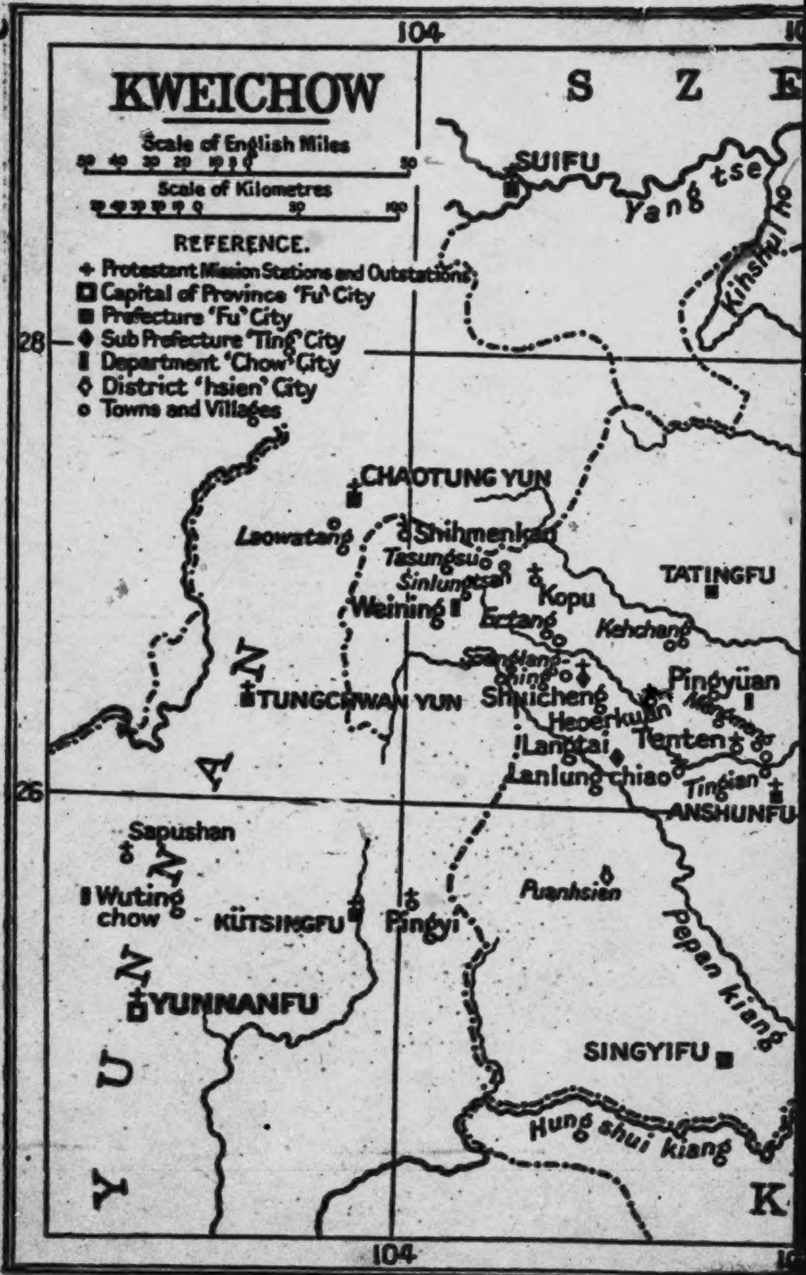
KWEICHOW
Scale of English Miles
50 40 30 20 10 5 0 50
Scale of Kilometres
50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100
REFERENCE.
✚ Protestant Mission Stations and Outstations
◘ Capital of Province 'Fu' City
■ Prefecture 'Fu' City
◆ Sub Prefecture 'Ting' City
▮ Department 'Chow' City
◊ District 'hsien' City
○ Towns and Villages
104
28
26
S Z E
SUIFU
Yang tse
Kinshui ho
CHAOTUNG YUN
Laowatang
Shihmenkan
Tasungsuo
Sinlungtsan
Kopu
Weining
Ertang
TATINGFU
Kehchang
Swenglang-ching
Shuicheng
Pingyüan
TUNGCHWAN YUN
Heoerkuan
Tenten
Langtai
Lanlung chiao
Tingfan
ANSHUNFU
Y U N N A N
Sapushan
Wuting chow
KÜTSINGFU
Pingyi
Puanhsien
Pepan kiang
YUNNANFU
SINGYIFU
Hung shui kiang
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MAP TO ILLUSTRATE "AMONG TH

For the area around Sapus

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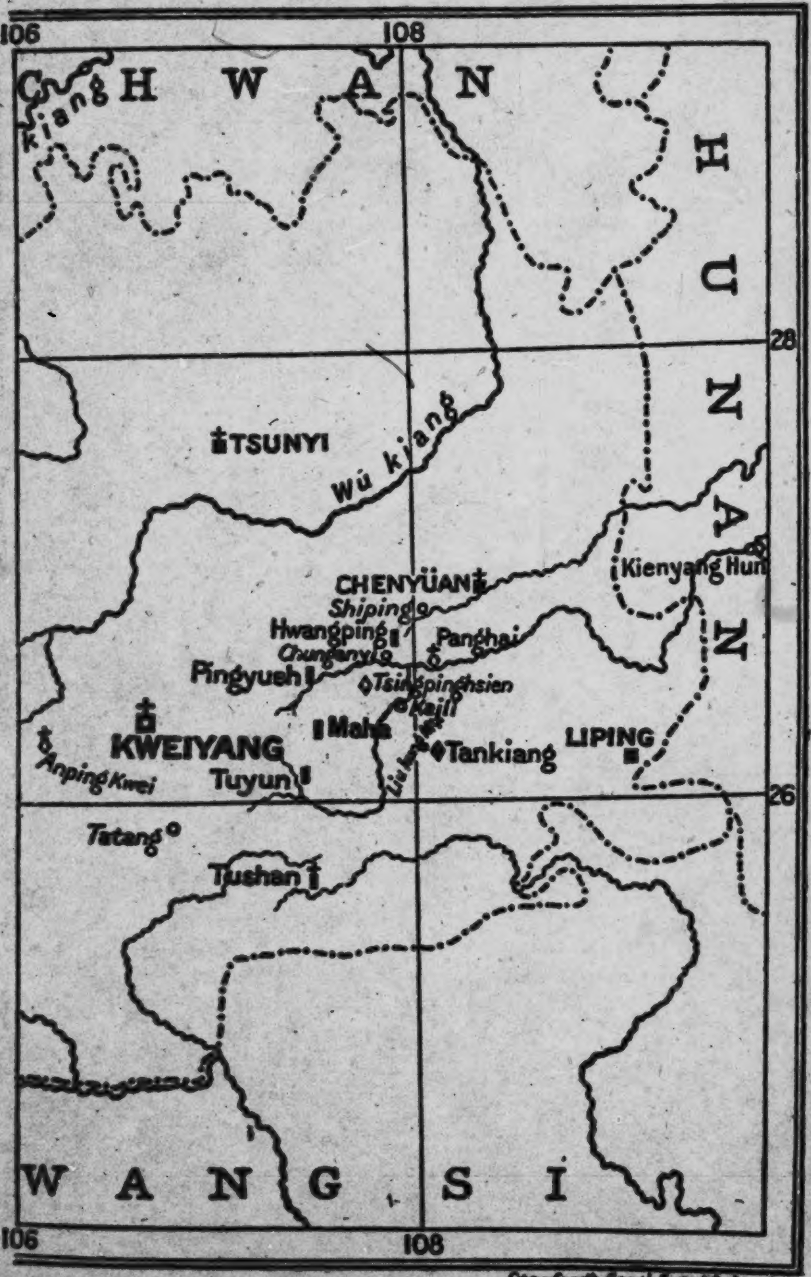
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108
C H W A N
kiang
H U N A N
28
26
TSUNYI
Wu kiang
CHENYÜAN
Shiping
Hwangping
Panghai
Chunganyi
Pingyueh
Tsingpinghsien
Kaili
KWEIYANG
Maha
Tankiang
LIPING
Kienyang Hun
Anping Kwei
Tuyun
Liu kiang
Tatang
Tushan
W A N G S I
106
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Stanford's Geog! Estab!, London.

TRIBES IN SOUTH-WEST CHINA."

in Yunnan, see next page.

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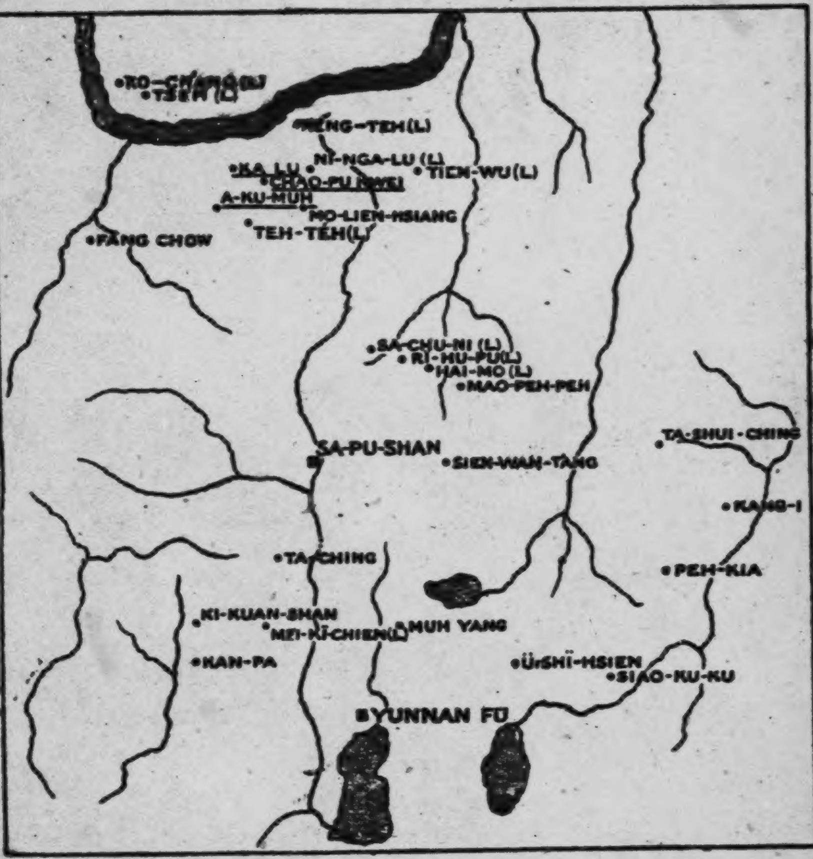
NI-NGA-LU (L)
KA LU
CHAO-PU HWEI
TIEN-WU (L)
A-KU-MUH
MO-LIEN-HSIANG
TEH-TEH (L)
FANG CHOW
SA-CHU-NI (L)
RI-HU-PU (L)
HAI-MO (L)
MAO-PEH-PEH
TA-SHUI-CHING
SA-PU-SHAN
SIEN-WAN-TANG
KANG-I
TA-CHING
PEH-KIA
KI-KUAN-SHAN
MEI-KI-CHIEN (L)
MUH YANG
KAN-PA
ÜrSHÏ-HSIEN
SIAO-KU-KU
YUNNAN FU

MAP, SHOWING CENTRES ROUND SAPUSHAN WHERE CHAPELS HAVE BEEN BUILT BY MIAO CHRISTIANS.

The names with an (L) after them are places where the Le-su tribe live. The three names underlined are occupied by La-ka, and the rest by Hwa Miao. There are about one hundred and ten villages in the whole district, where services are held every evening. Where villages are too far from Chapel centres the Christians meet in some house. The Miao and Le-su tribes have Scripture portions, and morning texts for each day in the year, in their own language. These are used by the leaders at the prayer meetings. There are nearly eight hundred Church members, and about three thousand catechumens —most of them living in Christian homes. At Sapushan the Chapel is large enough to seat eight hundred worshippers, and is built of sun-dried brick, and tiled.

PART I

THE PROVINCE OF KWEICHOW AND ITS 000 NON-CHINESE RACES

[p. xix]

> "There is probably no family of the human race—certainly no family with such claims to consideration—of which so little is accurately known as of the non-Chinese races of Southern China. This is in great measure due to the perfect maze of senseless names, taken from the Chinese, in which the subject is involved. In the *Topography of the Yunnan Province* (edition of 1836) there is a catalogue of 141 classes of aborigines, each with a separate name and illustration, without any attempt to arrive at a broader classification."—Consul F. S. A. Bourne.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROVINCE AND ITS PEOPLES

Ancient history—Chinese and Miao—The Miao move westward —Kweichow—Constituted a province—General characteristics of the province—Original Chinese—New Chinese—The non-Chinese—The Keh-lao.

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WHEN the people now known as Chinese reached the regions which at present form the provinces of Shensi and Shansi in north China, they found much land already occupied by tribes not unlike themselves. These tribes were doubtless the descendants of people who had, at an earlier date, migrated from the west. Those to the south were called *Nan Man* or Southern Barbarians. They were also called *Miao*. The character *Miao*, as written in the "Book of History," means tender blades of grass or sprouts, and it is hard to decide whether the people were so named in consequence of the district they occupied, or whether the district took its name from the people. The word is evidently Chinese, and seems to be a natural term for all newcomers to apply to the aborigines, whom they regard as sons of the soil.

In the " Canon of Shuen " it is recorded that Shuen drove the San Miao into San Wei. Whether San Miao was the name of one tribe or meant three tribes[1] is not clear. San Wei was a district extending from what is now Kiukiang, in the province of Kiangsi, to Yochow, at the mouth of the Tungting Lake in the province of Hunan. This was about 4000 years ago. Later on, as the Miao continued rebellious, Yü was sent, at the command of Shuen, to correct them. For reasons which do not appear, Yü sent back his army and determined to try the effect of moral suasion on these unmanageable people, and in seventy days the Prince of the Miao came to make his submission!

From that time forth the struggle has proceeded between the ever-encroaching Chinese and the Miao, in which struggle the more civilised and better organised Chinese have always, in the end, prevailed. About 800 B.C. Shuen Wang, one of the kings of the Chow dynasty, sent an expedition against them.

---

[1] San is Chinese for three.

Fang Shuh, who was the leader, proceeded with 175 three thousand chariots as far as the present cities of Changsha and Changte in Hunan. Three mailed warriors rode in each chariot, and these, with other soldiers, made up a force of some thirty thousand men. The barbarians, alarmed at the news of recent Chinese victories over the Northern Tartars, and terrified by the beating of drums and cymbals, submitted without resistance.

During the reign of Shih Hwang Ti, the Emperor who built the Great Wall and overthrew the feudal system of China (200 B.C.), cities were built in what are now the southern provinces of the Empire, and the whole of that country was brought under real or nominal subjection. The wilder west was, however, still unsubdued, and into these higher and less fertile regions many of the Miao withdrew.

When the Chinese first came upon the scene, the *Nan Man* or *Miao* were probably as numerous, if not more numerous than the new arrivals. The Chinese, however, were not only more civilised but under one government, whereas the Miao were divided under many local kings and rulers. The inevitable result followed. The Miao were gradually destroyed, or absorbed 175
by the conquering race, or driven to the less 177

175 desirable regions of the west and south-west. 177 This process of absorption has been going on since the days of Yao and Shuen, 2356 B.C., and may be observed at the present time in the province of Kweichow. In that province many of the Chinese have Miao wives or concubines, and the children of such marriages always claim to be and are looked upon as Chinese.

121 The writer has neither the intention nor the ability to recall the history of the Miao tribes from the earliest times. His purpose, so far as he is able, is to describe briefly the different peoples now inhabiting the province of Kweichow, more especially the non-Chinese peoples. West China, Tibet, Burma, Tongking, Annam, and Siam are inhabited by many tribes, and it is impossible not to ask such interesting questions as: Who are they? Whence came they? and When? After a residence of more than twenty years in the province of Kweichow, where we have learned something about these tribes, it is our purpose to set down what we know.

103 The two characters *Kwei-chow* as they are now written, and have been written for about six hundred years, mean "Precious or Honourable Region." But eighteen hundred years ago, during the Han dynasty, the name was written

with the character *Kwei* meaning "demon" and thus would mean "Demon Region," that is, "the region inhabited by demons." Sometimes it was written *Kwei Fang*, "demon place" or "land of demons." The inhabitants were also called *Lo-sï Kwei* or "Lo-sï demons," which probably had reference to the spiral form in which some of them did up their hair. 103

What is now Kweichow was only constituted a province, with Kweiyang Fu as its capital, about two hundred years ago. Previous to that time that portion of the present province north of the Wu-kiang or "Crow River" was part of the province of Szechwan. South of that river were semi-independent kingdoms; *I-chia* or *Lo-lo* who call themselves *No-su* in the west, and *Miao-chia* in the east. Hundreds of years previous to that time Chinese armies had marched into Kweichow and left garrisons in different places. 175

One hundred and fifty years ago, when Roman Catholic missionaries made a map of the Empire, some parts of southern Kweichow were put down as occupied by *Sen Miao* or "Independent Miao." Evidently at that time some of the Miao were still independent, for if they had in any way admitted Chinese sovereignty they would not have been reckoned

175 as *Sen Miao.* The various tribes within the Empire, and those on the border, are divided into *Sen* and *Su* tribes. *Sen* means "raw," and *Su* means "ripe" or "cooked." The independent tribes are "raw," and those who acknowledge Chinese sovereignty are "cooked." There are no Miao, or any other tribe in Kweichow now, who claim to be independent. The last vestiges of independence passed away forty years ago when the latest Miao rebellion of any importance was put down after years of mutual slaughter. Talking recently with a Miao who remembered that time, he said, "Our people were worse than the Chinese and killed more women and children than they did."

133 Most of Kweichow is at least three thousand feet above sea-level, the altitude constantly increasing as the traveller goes west. Weining Lake, in the north-west, a large sheet of water fifty miles long and in some places nearly twenty miles broad, is 7000 feet above sea-level. We saw no boats and there appears to be no traffic on the lake. The hills are not exceedingly high, but they are everywhere. The province is a labyrinth of hills and valleys, and probably not one-fifth of the surface of it is cultivated or cultivable.

When the traveller reaches the top of a high

hill and looks about him, he frequently sees all /33
around, as far as the eye can reach, an ocean of little hills, sometimes hundreds of them. They are of every conceivable shape, among which the pyramid and sugar-loaf shape are very common. Most of these hills are bare and barren, and there is little timber to be seen. The valleys between are for the most part narrow, and what might be called the plains are seldom very long or very broad. There are innumerable caves and caverns among these hills, some of which are very large. In some places streams, only fordable in certain parts, disappear into the bowels of the earth, and come out again a considerable distance away. There are many waterfalls to be seen, some of which after a heavy fall of rain are magnificent.

There are very few waterways in Kweichow, /33
as most of the streams only become navigable 487
as they are leaving the province. The longest navigable river, the Chang-ki, is a branch of the Yüan River, and joins what is called the main stream from Chenyüan at the city of Kienyang Hun in Hunan. This stream, which flows through a region occupied for the most part by Heh Miao, is navigable when in flood almost to Tuyün, and all the year round as far as Kai-li in the Tsingpinghsien district. The boat-

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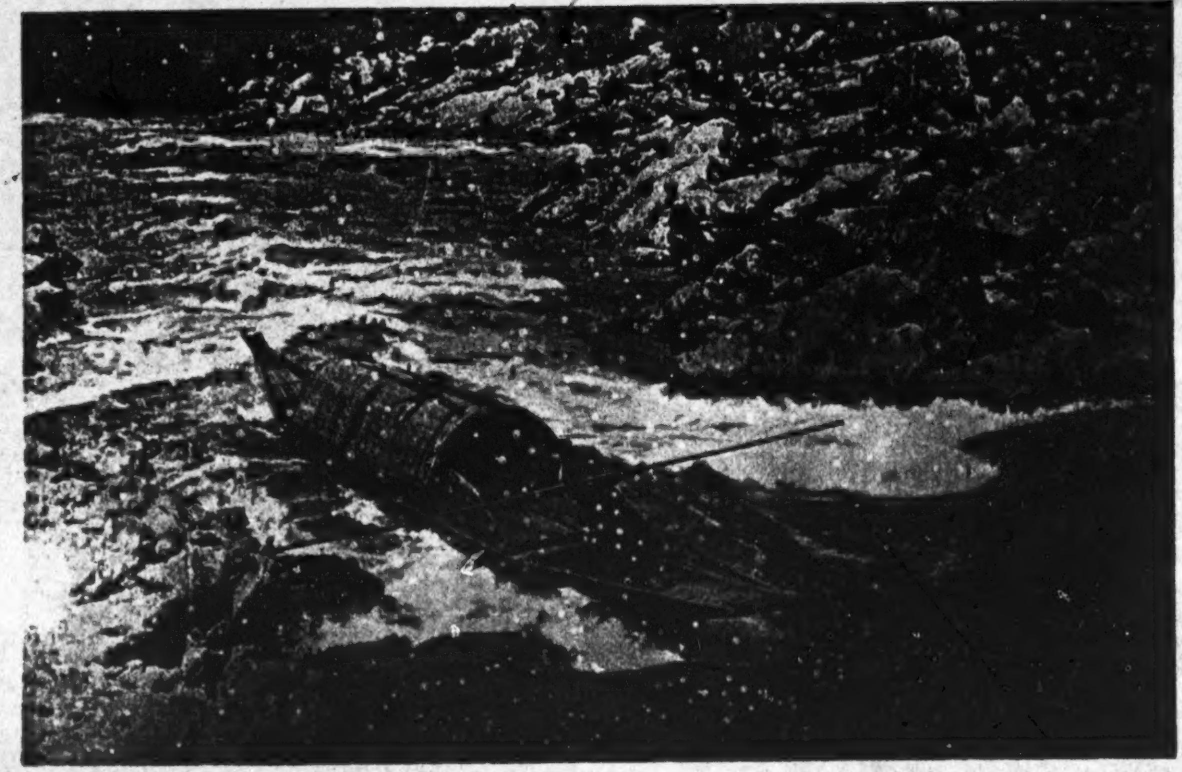
[facing p. 7]



ASCENDING A RAPID ON THE PANGHAI RIVER.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

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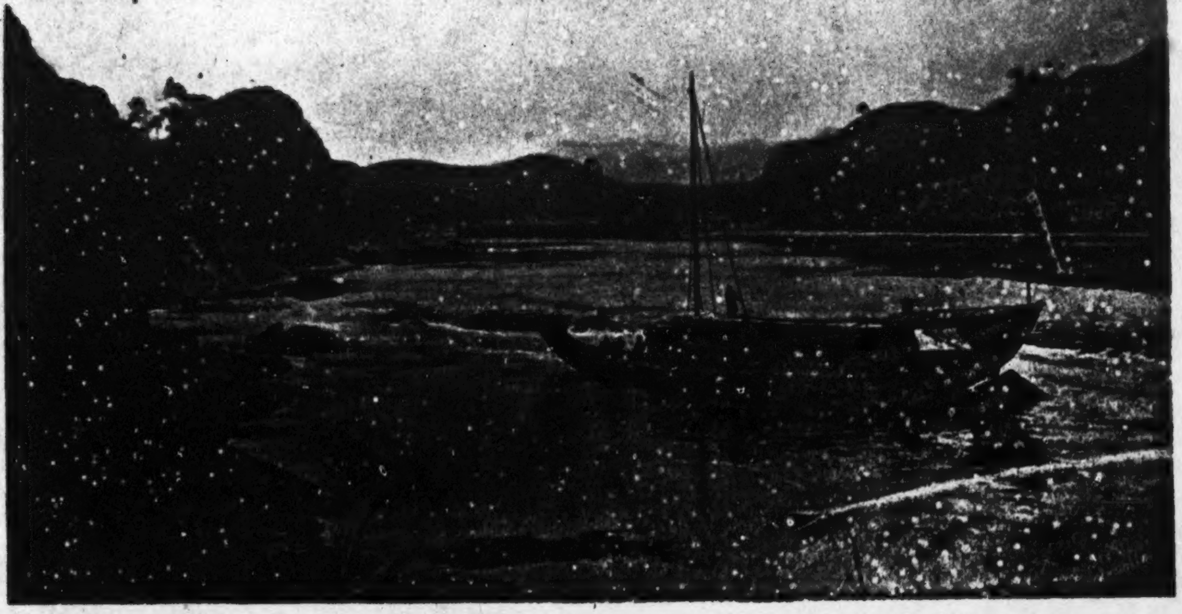

House Boat approaching a Rapid on the River below Yuanchowfu, Hunan.

To face page 8.

/33
501

133 men on this river are nearly all Heh Miao, who
487 convey goods to and from Hungkiang in Hunan.
This stream, however, in consequence of long
and difficult rapids, is only navigable for small
boats, whereas the Chenyüan branch is navigable
for river boats of the largest size. This lack
of waterways, and the fact that there is no road,
as far as we know, in the province over which
a wheeled vehicle could be drawn or driven,
makes the conveyance of produce a costly under-
482 taking. Everything has to be carried by coolies,
or on the backs of ponies and mules, and con-
sequently it doubles the cost of rice to carry it
one hundred and twenty miles.

162 The population of Kweichow is probably between seven and ten millions. In speaking of numbers, in the absence of trustworthy census returns, it must be understood that we are giving opinions formed from our own observation, influenced by the estimates of others who are as well qualified to judge as ourselves. In this way, then, we put the population of the province at between seven and ten millions, and reckon that one-half of these are Chinese and the rest mostly Miao and Chung-chia.

To a traveller passing through Kweichow, the Chinese would appear to greatly outnumber the non-Chinese. This is because the Chinese

162 are mostly settled in the cities and towns, and in those districts which are nearer the cities and the great high-roads. Away from the cities and high-roads in the south-west and south-east, the non-Chinese greatly outnumber the Chinese. It must also be remembered that the Chung-chia men, and some of the men of the other tribes, dress exactly the same as Chinese peasants, and by the traveller might be taken for Chinese.

000 The Chinese of the province are divided into the *Lao-han-ren* and *Keh-chia,* that is, the "Original or Old Chinese" and the "Immigrants." The immigrants are very many, and the Old Chinese very few. Some of the Old Chinese claim that their ancestors settled in the province as early as the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, and others as late as the fourteenth century. These were the soldiers left in the country as the results of early conquests and occupations, who married native women and settled down as cultivators of the soil. The descendants of these now form separate communities, speaking the old dialect their forebears brought into the country, or a modification of it, and able also to speak the mandarin dialect of the New Chinese. They are a sturdy industrious race who generally

000 own the land they cultivate, but are regarded by the New Chinese much the same as the Miao and Chung-chia.

Among these Old Chinese are the following: The *P'u-tsï* or *T'un-tsï*, that is "Garrison people," in the Anshunfu prefecture; the *La-pa-tsï* in the western part of Anshunfu and in the Puanhsien district. The *Ch'uan-chün-tsï*, so called because the women wear long skirts like Miao and Chung-chia women, are found in Anshunfu, Weining, and Pingyüan districts. The *Feng-t'eo-ren* or "Phœnix-headed," named from the style in which the women do their hair, are to be seen along the main road from Kweiyang to Anshunfu. It is not possible at present to say how many of these Old Chinese there are, but we venture to think there are only several tens of thousands of them. There may be, however, in other parts of the province other of these garrison people whom we have not seen or recognised, and of whom we have never heard. Doubtless many of these Old Chinese have, in the course of time, been absorbed among the non-Chinese or among the New Chinese.

The New Chinese are the descendants of those who settled in Kweichow when and since it was constituted a province of the Empire.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

There can be no doubt that the earlier of these immigrants were from the province of Kiangsi, and some of them at least were compelled to colonise Kweichow much against their will. Most of the Chinese now in the province would claim Kiangsi as the old home of their family. But in recent years, we do not venture to say for how many, the immigrants have nearly all been from the provinces of Hunan and Szechwan, and mostly from Szechwan. Since we first entered the province thirty years ago there has been a constant stream of people, sometimes rising and falling, flowing into Kweichow from the populous province of Szechwan. 000

The language spoken by the Chinese of Kweichow is good Mandarin, more like the dialect of Peking than that of Nanking, and much better mandarin than that spoken in many parts of Hunan. As one might expect, it is most like the Chinese spoken in Szechwan, and a man from Kweichow would be easily understood in north and central China where the Mandarin dialect is spoken.

The non-Chinese are nearly all of them cultivators of the soil, and live, as a rule, not on the land they cultivate, but, for the sake of mutual protection, in hamlets and villages. 361

361 These villages are sometimes surrounded by a wall, and sometimes by a stockade of plaited bamboos, but most of them have no sort of
443 protection. On market-days, which are held generally once in six days, the market-places are crowded by the men and women of different tribes, which, by reason of the varied and picturesque costumes of the women, present an animated and interesting spectacle. These markets or fairs are mostly held in the towns and villages, but some of them are held in out-of-the-way places where no houses are to be seen. Here the people sell their live-stock and farm produce, and buy such necessaries as they cannot produce or make for themselves. At some of the markets we have visited, the tribes-people outnumber the Chinese by ten to one, but in some places it is the other way about.

563 The non-Chinese of Kweichow are the *Lao* or *Keh-lao*, the *Miao-chia*, the *Chung-chia*, and the *I-chia*. And here let us explain for the reader who does not understand Chinese, that the word *chia*, so often occurring in the names of various tribes, means " family " or " tribe."
563 Thus *Miao-chia* means the " Miao tribe " or
101 " tribes." We have heard people speak, and have met writers, who mention the Miao as *Miao tsï*. That is a Chinese contemptuous way

of speaking of them. People, unless they wish 563
to be rude, should speak and write of them as 101
Miao, or ***Miao-chia***.

Of the four races mentioned above, the Miao- 563
chia and Chung-chia are numerous and important, the I-chia not so numerous but still important. Later on these will be dealt with at greater length. The Keh-lao, however, are now nearly extinct; many of them have married into Chung-chia and Old Chinese families. Some writers have spoken of them as extinct. As far as we know, there are now only several hamlets of them in the Anshun prefecture, which altogether do not number more than two or three hundred families.

These people claim, and rightly, we believe, to be the real aborigines of that region. In some parts of the province the Miao claim to be the aborigines, but where the Miao and Keh-lao occupy the same district, the Miao allow that the Keh-lao were there before themselves. From the similarity of names, we might suppose that these Lao or Keh-lao are the same as a branch of the Lao or Laos people of northern Siam, southern Yunnan, and other regions. This, however, we think is not so, as we have good reason to conclude that the Lao or Laos people of northern Siam, and elsewhere, are the same or closely related to the Chung-chia of Kweichow.

The language of the Keh-lao is quite different from every other spoken in the province, although like all the languages spoken in Kweichow it is syllabic and, we think, tonic. Most of them can also speak Chinese. The men dress as Chinese and wear the queue, but the women wear a costume peculiar to themselves, and have their hair done up in a knob at the top of their head, much like the style of a Taoist priest. Like all the other non-Chinese races the women do not bind their feet. In appearance they are, we think, most like the Miao.

All the Keh-lao we know or have heard of are in Anshun prefecture. Mr. and Mrs. Adam have visited some of them and have been kindly welcomed by them. About fifteen miles from Anshunfu, on the way to Ten-ten, an out-station among the Miao, is a Keh-lao hamlet where Mr. and Mrs. Adam always rest and have a meal, as there are no inns on the way to Ten-ten. The same family always entertains them, furnishing hot water for them, food for their coolies, and grass for their ponies. On the first occasion the old lady, when offered money for her hospitality, was quite offended, and said, "Ah well! don't come back again." However, the difficulty was got over by always taking a present for the hostess or her grand-daughter. We have been in that hamlet, and if we had not been told they were Keh-lao, should certainly have thought they were Miao.

The Keh-lao, like all the inhabitants of Kweichow, Chinese and non-Chinese, are great believers in demons and are very superstitious, but thus far we have had no opportunity of learning more of their religious notions. They are also known under the following names: *Hua*[1] Keh-lao, from the various colours in the dress of the women; *Ya-yu*[2] Keh-lao, from the custom of breaking a front tooth of a bride before she goes to her husband's home. They are also called the *Hung*[3] Keh-lao, that is the Red Keh-lao. Possibly Keh-lao means aboriginal, but this is only a guess. The Chinese have other names for them, but as these are the reverse of complimentary, out of respect for an ancient and vanishing people we shall not in these pages hand those names down to posterity.

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[1] Hua = parti-coloured.

[2] Ya = tooth.

[3] Hung = red.

CHAPTER II

THE LANGUAGES AND CUSTOMS OF THE MIAO

Chinese and non-Chinese—How named—How differentiated—Miao languages and dialects—Lack of literature—Love of litigation—Dacoits—The Black Miao—Other Miao—Moral condition.

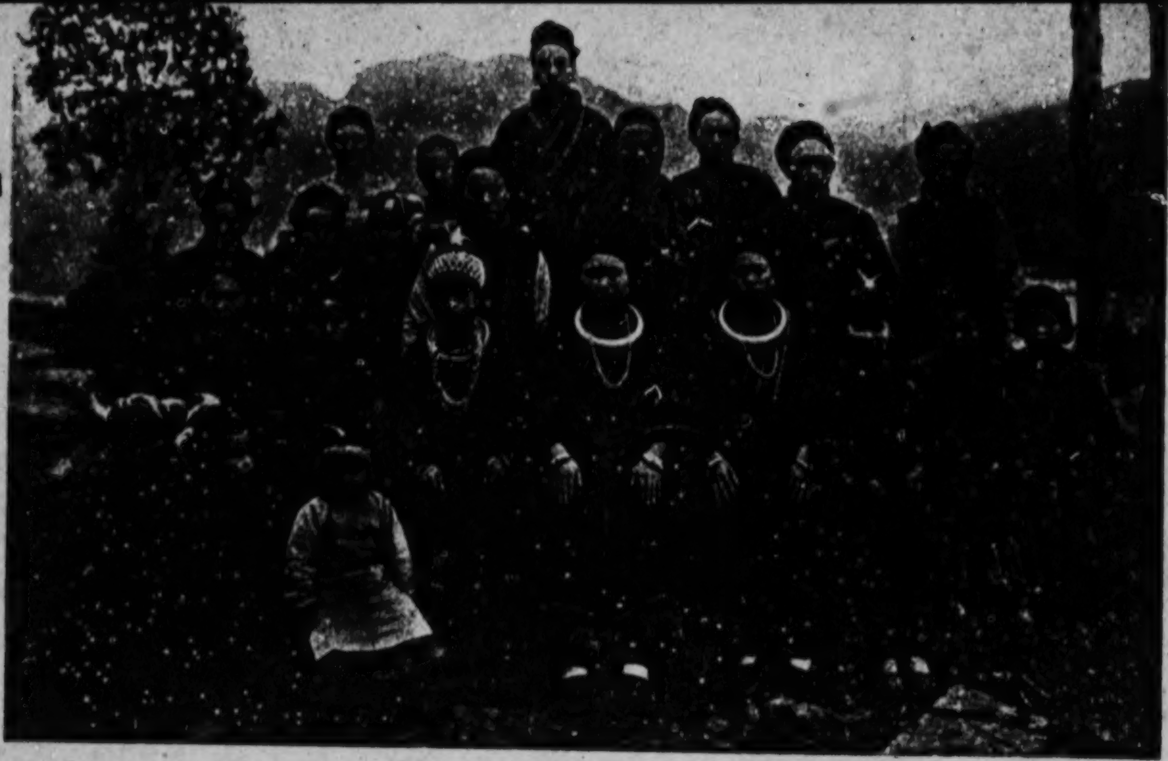
162 If we estimate the population of Kweichow at eight millions, half of these as Chinese and the rest as Miao-chia, Chung-chia, and I-chia, we shall not be far from the truth. The Chung-chia are probably as numerous as the Miao-chia and I-chia together, and the Miao-chia much more numerous than the I-chia or Lo-lo. The I-chia are only to be found in the west and north-west, and even there are still outnumbered by the Miao. As the Miao were probably in what is now called Kweichow before the Chung-chia, and in most parts of it before the I-chia, the Miao may be first described.

101 The Chinese say there are seventy tribes of Miao, but one Chinese work makes that number

include every sort of non-Chinese people, and 101
is therefore misleading. As far as our observation goes, the Chinese who live in those regions make no mistake about the different races, and call them by their proper Chinese names. Many of the Miao men, as already mentioned, 161
dress much the same as the Chinese peasants, but the women of all the tribes wear a costume 291
peculiar to themselves, and it is from these differences that the Chinese name them. Thus, the women of the *Heh* or "Black Miao" wear a dark chocolate-coloured embroidered costume; the men of that tribe also often wear calico of a dark-brown or chocolate colour. For this reason the Chinese call them Black Miao. The *Ya-ch'io*, or "Magpie Miao," are so called because the dark-blue and white costume of their women suggests the magpie. There are the *Hua* or "Parti-coloured Miao," the *Peh* or "White Miao," and so on. Some few of them, however, are otherwise named, as the *Sa*, or "Shrimp Miao," because they catch and sell fresh-water shrimps. There are also the *Shui-hsi-Miao*, "West of the water Miao," the water here referred to doubtless being the river flowing between Anshunfu and Tating.

The most numerous and most important of 101
these tribes are the Heh Miao in the south-

[FACING P. 18]



A GROUP OF HEH MIAO (BLACK MIAO) TAKEN AT PANGHAI.

Mrs. Powell is seen standing at the back of the picture on the reader's left.

To face page 18.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

101

east and the Hua Miao in the west and north-west. In some parts the Hua Miao are called the Ta-hua-Miao. Here *Ta* means "great," and that adjective is probably used because there are so many of them and because they extend over so large a district. Some of the Miao are also found in the province of Yunnan, and some in the province of Hunan. But who is to decide what constitutes a tribe, and hence how many tribes there are? The Hua Miao of Anshunfu, both men and women, dress quite differently from the Ta-hua-Miao of Weining, but their language is much the same, and they are evidently the same tribe. The Heh Miao of Singyifu in the south-west are manifestly the same in dress and appearance as the Heh Miao of the south-east, though so widely separated geographically. Those of Singyifu moved, or were moved, from the south-east to where they are now, since the time when the great Miao and Mohammedan rebellions nearly depopulated the south-west of Kweichow. The Ya-ch'io Miao of Tating district speak almost the same dialect as the Peh Miao of Kao-san, about forty miles to the north-east of them. In Hwangping Chow there is a small tribe called the Keh-teo Miao living among the Heh Miao, but quite different from them in dress and appear-

101 ance, being shorter and coarser looking than the Heh Miao. They speak also a dialect more like that of the Hua Miao of the west than that of the Heh Miao among whom they dwell. Probably they were where they are now before the Heh Miao moved into that region. For our part we think it a waste of time to try and count how many tribes of Miao there are. Any one who could speak three or four of their dialects would in all probability understand and be understood by them all.

000 Some writers have mentioned the Yao or Yao-ren of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and say that some of them are to be found in the south-east corner of Kweichow, and that they are a tribe of Miao. The *Yao* probably means "wild dog" or "jackal." Whether they are to be found in Kweichow or whether they are a tri of the Miao we cannot say; we never met or heard of any of them in Kweichow. But missionaries or travellers in that out-of-the-way corner of the province might inquire about them. From the lists of words of the different languages spoken in Kweichow, printed in the Appendix, the student may be able to discover if the Yao-ren are related to the Miao or to any of the other tribes of Kweichow.

Other writers mention the Li-ren or Li-mu, 600 the aborigines of Hainan, and say they are probably the same as the Miao, and that the name seems to be retained in Liping, also in the south-east corner of Kweichow. We are not qualified to pass an opinion on that matter. It is, of course, quite possible that while most of the Miao were pressed westward by the Chinese, some of them may have been driven south, and might be found in the island of Hainan. The word *Li* in their name means "black" or "dark brown"; it also means "numerous." There is a State of Li, mentioned at the beginning of the tenth book of the "Book of History," which was conquered by the Chief of the West, A.D. 1123. The Chinese have for four thousand years used this word to designate themselves, and still call themselves the *Li-min*, which is generally translated "Black-haired people." This name, which is one of the first the Chinese used for themselves, suggests a very interesting question. All the people among whom the Chinese are now living have the same sort of hair, eyes, and complexion as themselves. Why, then, did they designate themselves the Dark or Black people? Did they at one time live in the neighbourhood of people who were fair-haired and of lighter complexion than themselves? But the problem of the Li-ren,

the Black or Dark men, the aborigines of 000
Hainan, is a problem which must be left for some missionary or traveller to solve.

As mentioned above, all the languages 197
spoken in Kweichow are syllabic and tonic, but the Miao language appears to be more like the Chinese or, at all events, more like Mandarin Chinese than those spoken by the Keh-lao, Chung-chia, or I-chia. Naturally in all these languages there are words manifestly borrowed from the Chinese; but leaving out such words, there seem more resemblances between the Chinese and Miao words than between the Chinese and any of the others, or between Miao and any of the others.

Of the non-Chinese languages spoken in 193
Kweichow we know Heh Miao and Chung-chia best, and it is worthy of note that in both of these, as a rule, the adjective comes after the noun, whereas in Chinese the adjective comes before the noun. There are also other marked peculiarities which differentiate these languages from the Chinese and from one another, but for the most part the syntax of all these languages is very much the same, that is to say, there are no conjugations, no declensions, and no inflexion of words. Like Mandarin Chinese, 194
none of the Miao dialects we know have any

194 final consonants other than "*n*" and "*ng.*" They have, however, some initial sounds which are not found in Chinese, among which may be noted the "*Ll*" of the Welsh among the Heh Miao and also among the I-chia. This initial sound in some of the Miao dialects changes to "*Kl*" and "*Bl.*"

The Chung-chia, besides the final "*n*" and "*ng,*" have also as finals *k*, *m*, *p*, and *t*. The Heh Miao have eight tones, and some of the other dialects probably as many, though we have heard of some which have only four. The Chung-chia have six tones. How many the I-chia and Keh-lao have we are not able to say. The student has to study these languages some time before he can decide how many tones they use. Of course, all these people utter all the various tones correctly for their own dialects, but are quite unable to say how many tones there are. There are, moreover, in some of these tones such fine gradations of pitch and inflexion that only the practised ear can distinguish between them.

197 192 The various dialects spoken by the Miao tribes differ considerably, so much so that a Heh Miao from the south-east cannot understand anything of the dialect spoken by a Heh Miao of the west. If, however, the vocabularies

of these two most dissimilar dialects are compared, it is easily seen that they are both variations of a common speech. Naturally these variations are most marked in cases where the tribes are most widely separated geographically. But the differences of dialect in tribes which are only thirty or forty miles apart are sometimes very great. In some of these cases it is very often the commonest words which show the greatest changes; for instance, the pronouns, the negatives, and such common words as the verbs "to be" and "to have." This striking difference of speech among people who must at one time have spoken the same language suggests that they have not only been separated geographically, but have also been apart for long periods of time. 197 192

The Heh Miao call themselves *mp'eo* or *de mp'eo*. *De* is merely a personal prefix. This word or sound *mp'eo* also means embroidery. The Heh Miao women, and the women of most of the other Miao tribes, wear a good deal of embroidery in their costume. The amount of embroidery on the clothing of a Heh Miao young woman is astonishing. It takes them years to do the embroidery on the jacket and skirt in which they hope to be married, and one of the commonest sights in a Heh Miao village [101] 291 531

291 531 is a group of young girls, sitting round the door of one of the houses, laughing and chatting and doing their embroidery. When the costumes are finished, they are worn on gala days before they are married and on festive occasions for years afterwards. I have asked my teacher and others if they call themselves *mp'eo* because of the embroidery their women wear, but none of them was able to say why they call themselves by that name.

101 The Ya-chio Miao of Tatung, who live about one hundred miles distant from the nearest Heh Miao, call themselves *mp'ü*, which is the same word and means " embroidery " also with them. They also were not able to tell me why they are so named. The Hua Miao call themselves *hmung* and *hmung-a-li*. The Shui-hsi Miao and Peh Miao also call themselves *hmung*, and some of the other Miao call themselves *hmao*. Now all these words *mp'ü*, *mp'eo*, *hmao*, *hmung* are doubtless the same word, but whether *hmao* and *hmung* also mean embroidery or not in those dialects we are not at present able to say.

173 As these people have no literature, they can say very little that is trustworthy about their own origin and history. The Heh Miao say they came from Kiangsi province, and that is where the Chinese place the San Miao in the

"Book of History." The Heh Miao, we have 173
every reason to think, were the last to move into Kweichow. Some of them are to be found in Hunan, which lies between Kiangsi and Kweichow, and we believe traces of their language are to be found in some of the local dialects of Kiangsi. The Hua Miao say they have always lived where, or very near to where, they are now. However, when the Keh-lao are mentioned, they readily admit that the Keh-lao were in the district before them. Probably the Hua Miao were the first of the Miao tribes to move into those regions, it may be two thousand or more years ago.

The Ya-ch'io Miao say their old home was in Tongking, and that they came to Kweichow by way of Szechwan and Yunnan. This is absurd, and we only put it on record because they insisted that it was so. They also say that when they die their souls return to their ancestors in Tongking. There can be no doubt these 174
various tribes originally came from farther east, though at vastly different periods, some of them two thousand years ago, and the Heh Miao last of all within the last five hundred years. It may be, however, and is indeed very probable, that some of them moved about in different directions before they settled down

174 where we find them now. Tongking, which the Ya-ch'io Miao pronounce as the Chinese do *Tung-chin*, may be one of the old capitals of China called "The Eastern Metropolis."[1]

622 Till recent times the Miao, while actually subject to China, were ruled by their own hereditary chiefs. This system is now passing away, if it has not already ceased to exist. We have heard of Miao chiefs still exercising hereditary authority at the present time, but we have not met them or been, so far as we know, in their districts. The men now responsible for their districts and fellow-tribesmen to the Imperial magistrates are appointed by those magistrates. These men are called *Tuan* or headmen, just as the same sort of men are called by the same name among the Chinese. These are something like Justices of the Peace in England, having authority in their own jurisdiction to settle minor disputes, while all serious cases are tried by the Chinese magistrate. These headmen are also responsible for the collection of the land tax. Among the Miao they are generally very ignorant men, not able to read and write. Thus it appears that the

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[1] Peking = Northern Capital. Nanking = Southern Capital. Tungking = Eastern Capital. Compare the Japanese Tokio (Tungking) = Eastern Capital.

Miao are ruled much in the same way as the Chinese who live in villages and hamlets. 622

The Miao are, we have many reasons to think, more litigious than the Chinese, constantly going "to have the law" on some one, or some one going "to have the law" on them. In many cases the affair is brought before the local headman, but on these occasions it is difficult to satisfy both parties, and the loser is almost certain to carry the case before the district magistrate. It is amazing to note how much of their time and money these people spend in legal proceedings, and very often fail to get justice after all. But it is a point of honour with them, and they think it due to themselves and their reputations to fight a case to the bitter end. 691

This love of litigation is encouraged by the secretaries and underlings in the various Yamen, who depend for their living principally on the law cases, civil and criminal, brought before the magistrate. If there were no litigation these men would starve. Thus cases that have been settled, and possibly justly settled, by the headman, can always be reopened before the district magistrate, and cases settled by one magistrate can be retried by his successor. This is not from any love of justice, but for the 691 661

691 sake of the bribes, squeezes, and fees that are
661 to be obtained from the litigants. The average incumbency of a district magistrate in Kweichow is not, we think, over twelve months.

Not only do the Yamen people profit by the cases brought before the magistrate, but very often underlings, and others in league with the Yamen, foment litigation and exhort the simple country-folk to take their grievances, or reopen their cases, before the magistrate. The longer a case lasts, and the more people can be drawn into it, the more profit there is for the Yamen. Very often cases are trumped up and false accusations made, and even if the accused finally obtains a verdict in his favour, it will only be after he has been mercilessly squeezed by these harpies. Probably on account of their ignorance and the lack of men among them with literary degrees, which would give them the privilege of interviewing the magistrate, the Miao are even more squeezed than the Chinese. Yamen secretaries, however, are neither partial nor particular, but always willing and zealous to extort money from everybody they can lay their hands on.

594 Among the Miao nearly all the disputes
586 arise on account of their land or their women. They recognise the marriage relation, but do

not observe it as strictly as the Chinese. Miao 594
women have more liberty and are more uncon- 586
ventional than Chinese women, and consequently many of their marriages are the result of mutual liking. Not infrequently, however, a girl is practically sold for money to a husband chosen by the parents, and in these cases the result is often disastrous. The young woman will probably run away from her husband's home and continue to meet her lover. If pressure is brought to bear upon her from her parents or parents-in-law, as it generally is, she may return to her husband's home, make herself thoroughly disagreeable, and run away again in a short time. After this has happened 586
repeatedly, the husband in despair tries all he can to find out who is the lover. When he finds this out, he sends an invitation to the lover and to his wife's people to come before the elders of the district and talk over his grievance. Sometimes these discussions last for days. The husband pretends to want his wife back, but as a matter of fact he has had quite enough of her, and really desires to have the money he paid for her returned to him. The wife's father pretends to be very angry, says his daughter was not well treated, that notwithstanding the hard work she had to do

586 and the little food she got, she is willing to return, but her husband has never come to his home to fetch her. Note, it is the custom for a husband to make a present to his wife's father on such an occasion.

Many angry words are spoken by the three parties concerned, and after everybody has added his or her word to the discussion, the case may be ended by the elders suggesting that the lover should repay the husband the cost of his wife and marry her himself, and that the husband should take the money and go elsewhere for a wife. If, however, the lover's influence is strong, the elders may decide that the girl go back to her husband, knowing that she will do nothing of the sort, or will not stay with him if she does go back. The case is thus only postponed for another time. We have assisted at some of the discussions of these matrimonial cases and know how hard they [691] are to settle. These daughter-in-law cases are not often brought before the Chinese magistrate, except when they have led to fighting, and, as sometimes happens, to serious wounds and homicide.

627 In the west and north-west of the province, when the Miao are the tenants of the I-chia landholders, all disputes about the land are

settled by the landlord, and their matrimonial 627
disputes are settled among themselves, so there is very little litigation among them in the Chinese courts.

To help the reader to understand the con- 579
ditions under which the people of Kweichow, Chinese and non-Chinese, live outside the cities and towns, it should be mentioned that in most parts of the province there are local bands of robbers, dacoits they would be called in Burma, who prey upon travellers and upon the people who live in little villages and hamlets. As the population varies all over the province, some of these bands are composed of Chinese, some of Miao, and some of Chinese and Miao.

Two or three years ago when we were at 579
Panghai, two days south-west of Chenyüan, 628
the Panghai robbers, while prowling not far from Pingtsai, fifteen miles lower down the river, kidnapped a Miao girl who was sister, or something else, to one of the Pingtsai band of robbers. The Pingtsai robbers resented this and threatened to come to Panghai and attack the Panghai band. Thereupon there was a great sharpening of swords and spears in Panghai market-place and much tall talk. The Pingtsai men, however, did not come, and we never heard how the affair was settled. Both

579 these bands were made up of Chinese and Miao.
628 Not infrequently Yamen runners and soldiers are connected with these bands and go out with them on their marauding expeditions. Some of the local gentry and Justices of the Peace, too, are often in league with them and share the plunder.

579 As far as we are able to judge, the Miao are
651 not difficult to govern. They are not turbulent people, and if let alone or justly treated would never cause any trouble. But they do assert themselves sometimes even now, when the extortion of Yamen tax-gatherers drives them to desperation. Four years ago when Mr. and Mrs. B. Curtis Waters were travelling from Tushan to Kweiyang, they put up at an inn in the prefectural city of Tuyün. Suddenly about two thousand Heh Miao marched into the city armed with swords, spears, and guns. They called out to the shopkeepers and people in the street not to be afraid, they would not rob or injure them, all they wanted was the Prefect, and him they were going to kill. They rushed into the Prefect's Yamen, and wounded one of the secretaries whom they mistook for the Prefect, and the Prefect had time to escape. That revolt was provoked by the Yamen tax-collectors, who, under the pretext of founding

schools, squeezed the Miao unmercifully. The 579
District or County magistrate, whose Yamen 651
was within the city, reasoned with them and persuaded them to go away. They returned to their homes, and later on the affair was settled by the nominal punishment of some of the Miao and a more just collection of the education rate.

Of all the Miao in Kweichow, the Heh or 463
Black Miao are the most intelligent and the most self-reliant. Most of them own the land they cultivate, many of them are well-to-do, and in many respects they seem nearly equal, if not quite equal, to the Chinese peasantry around them. We have observed, however, that the artisans among them are neither so skilful nor so trustworthy as those among the
Chinese. The Heh Miao not only bring their [443]
cattle and produce to market, but many of them engage in trade and open stalls on the market-place. Some of them buy pigs, rice, and other local products, and carry them for sale in their own boats to Hungkiang in Hunan. On the river that flows from Kai-li to Kienyang Hun, fifteen miles above Hungkiang, all the boatmen appear to be Miao. Elsewhere, however, the Miao seem to be poorer and inferior
to the Chinese and Chung-chia. In Weining [illegible]

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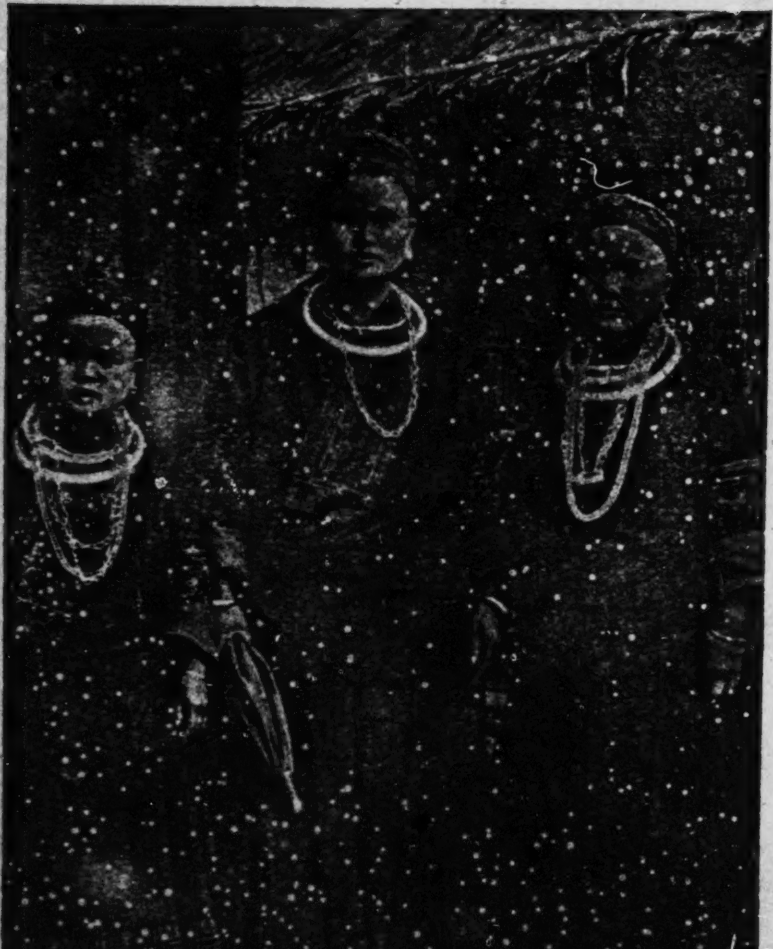

A Black Miao Mother and her two Daughters at Panghai.

To face page 34.

[Facing p. 34]

IN WEINING

427 district they[1] are most of them the tenants of the I-chia.

273 Drink is, we believe, in most cases the cause of their poverty and degradation. The love of whisky, which they make for themselves, is a prevailing vice among them all, men and women. Festivals, marriages, funerals, and sacrificial observances in reference to the dead, are all occasions for the reckless consumption of whisky. Chinese women at feasts sometimes drink more whisky than is good for them, but they have the good sense even then to stay indoors till the effects of it have passed away. We cannot remember that we ever saw an intoxicated Chinese woman. But Miao women glory in their shame, and are not infrequently seen *hilariously, helplessly* drunk, parading, or trying to parade, along the village street. Some of these drinking bouts, on the occasion of a marriage or funeral, go on for three days and nights, and the sounds of drunken songs and revelry are heard all over the village.

000 Morally most of them are below, and some of them immeasurably below, the Chinese. We know most about the Heh Miao and the Hua Miao, and these probably are the two extremes—the Heh Miao the best, and the Hua Miao and Ta-hua Miao of the west and north-west the

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[1] [ie., the Miao.-- Analyst]

830 worst, of all the Miao tribes. We have lived much among the Heh Miao, and believe there are plenty of decent women among them. But there are no decent women among the Ta-hua Miao, or there were none until the missionaries went among them. The Ta-hua Miao of Weining district and around Chaotung were, and in some cases are still, so bad that they could hardly be worse. This is describing their moral condition in very few words, but these are quite enough. The less said on this topic the better, and so we leave it.

276 The vice of opium smoking is not so prevalent among them as it is among the Chinese, but many of them grow, and some of them smoke, opium. During our own experience among them for fifteen years we have noticed the habit becoming more and more prevalent. In villages where fifteen years ago only one or two smoked surreptitiously, there are now houses where many of them go and smoke openly. In the elevated regions of the west, where opium cannot be grown, the habit is almost unknown, but elsewhere it is spreading among them.

Opium may not be a specific for all the ills that flesh is heir to, but it seldom fails to ease pain and give temporary relief, and among

276 people who have no medical science, with opium always at hand, it is easy to foresee what the state of matters will be in the course of time if things go on as they are. Fortunately, the Chinese Government seem determined to put an end to the cultivation of the poppy, and if they do put a stop to it, as we believe they will sooner or later, there will be an end to this vice among the Miao. Most of them are too poor to buy it for themselves, so cannot use it if they do not produce it.

CHAPTER III

MIAO LEGENDS

Black Miao legends—The Creation—The Flood—The earth repeopled—Hua Miao legend of Flood—Ya-ch'io legend of Flood—Fu-hsi—P'an-ku—Yao and Shuen's Flood.

The Miao have no written language. This is 212 a very remarkable fact if we bear in mind that the Chinese have cultivated literature for nearly four thousand years, while the Miao have been their neighbours, and some of them near neighbours, for all this length of time. The two races, though often contending, have not always been in arms one against another; there has always been some, and generally a good deal of intercourse between them. Their average intelligence is not equal to that of the Chinese, but some of them are equal to the average Chinese. They are not by any means savages or wild people, and they have unquestionably learned many things from the Chinese, and yet they never learned

212 from them the art of writing their own language.

[193] The Miao language, like the Chinese, is syllabic, unencumbered with conjugations or other inflexions, and it would be very easy to represent Miao words by Chinese characters
871 which are not phonetic but ideographic. At the present time there are schools in the Miao villages where Chinese literature is taught. Probably from earliest times there have been some Miao, as there are now, who could read and write Chinese, and yet not one of them, as far as we know, ever attempted to put down their own words in writing. If such an attempt was ever made, it evidently met with no acceptance among the tribesmen, who remain to-day as illiterate as their ancestors in the days of Yao and Shuen.

872 When we opened a school at Panghai some
212 years ago, and offered to teach the scholars to write their own language in the Roman script, the parents would not consent, but wished their children to learn to read and write Chinese. Their way of looking at the matter is not hard to understand. What writing they have to do must be done for them in Chinese. Any Miao
212 who can read and write passably may easily make his living among his neighbours by doing

their reading and writing for them. All proclamations and official notifications, all pleas and counter-pleas in law cases have to be written in Chinese. When a Miao headman receives a dispatch from the magistrate, he has to find some one to read it for him and write his reply. All their contracts, mortgages, and deeds of sale or rental are written in Chinese, and not one in a hundred of them when he buys a piece of land is able to read the deed of sale when it is written. 212

A man once explained to me how it happens that they have no written language. He said that many years ago the Miao were living in the neighbourhood of the Chinese, and the Chinese were too crafty for them, so they determined to move westward and live by themselves. At that time they knew a few characters, but evidently knew very little else. After travelling for many days they came to a vast sheet of water, and, having no boats, were unable to proceed. As some of them stood perplexed at the edge of the water, they noticed some water-spiders moving about on the surface of it, and they said one to another, "If these little things can walk on the water, why cannot we?" Thereupon they tried to walk on the surface of the water, which nearly cost them 212/173

212 173 their lives. Before they managed to get back again on the bank, they swallowed a great deal of water, and with the water they swallowed all the characters they knew, and have been without characters ever since! This may be regarded as an historical romance with a basis of fact. They did move west away from the Chinese, and the sheet of water was doubtless the Tungting Lake. But are we to gather from it that there was a time when they had some characters, but have since forgotten them?

538 If the Miao have no literature, they have plenty of legends handed down from earlier times. Who composed these legends no one knows; they are taught by the older people to the girls and boys. Many of them are in verse, five syllables to a line, the stanzas being of unequal length, one stanza interrogative and one responsive. These are sung or recited at their festivals by two persons or two groups, generally one group of young men and one group of young women, one group interrogating and the other responding. Among these legends, which I have written down from the dictation of my Heh Miao teacher, is a story of the Creation and a story of the Flood. The story of Creation commences:

Who made heaven and earth?
Who made insects?
Who made men?
Made male and made female?
I who speak don't know.

Vang-vai (Heavenly King) made heaven and earth.
Zie-ne made insects.
Zie-ne made men and demons,
Made male and made female.
How is it you don't know?

How made heaven and earth?
How made insects?
How made men and demons?
Made male and made female?
I who speak don't know.

Heavenly King is (or was) intelligent.
Spat a lot of spittle into his hand,
Clapped his hands with a noise,
Produced heaven and earth.
Tall wild grass made insects.
Stones made men and demons.
Made male and made female.
How is it you don't know?

Made heaven in what way?
Made earth in what way?
Thus by rote I sing,
But don't understand.

Made heaven like a sun-hat.
Made earth like a dust-pan.
Why don't you understand?
Made heaven a single lump,
Made earth a single lump.

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Who put heaven up?
Heaven then so very high.
Who separated earth low down?
Earth then deep and low.
I sing and don't understand.

The poem then goes on to relate how heaven and earth were kept apart after they were separated. They tried all sorts of wood and all sorts of metal, and at length decided to prop up heaven with pillars made of silver. But where were they to get fire to melt the silver? Fire had gone up to heaven; how were they to bring it down? Fire eventually came down from heaven in a stone, and with raw steel and tinder they extracted the fire from the stone. After heaven had been propped up with silver pillars, the sun and moon and milky-way were fixed in their places. The sun, however, went away and would not come back. Thereupon they sent various beasts and birds to call the sun to return, but they would not go; or if they went, the sun refused to come at their call. Finally, they sent the cock to call the sun to return, and when the cock crew the sun came back. The poem concludes that the proof of this is that when the cock crows the sun rises!

"Heavenly King" is a translation of *Vang-*

"HEAVENLY KING" IS A TRANSLATION OF VANG-*vai*, the two words used as the name of the 773
Creator. In this legend it is very interesting 776
to note how clearly and simply they say "Heavenly King made heaven and earth." This is so different to the elaborate and confused cosmogeny of the Chinese as to compel the opinion that we have here a very old tradition, and one which they did not learn from the Chinese. The stanzas given above contain all that is said of the Heavenly King. In the rest of the poem, of more than a thousand lines, *Zie-ne* and others in turn come upon the scene and do things, but who these were, or if Zie-ne is another name for the Creator, we have not been able to discover. But we feel almost sure that Zie-ne is an earthly person and not the Heavenly King. There is a word *ne* of the same tone which means "land," generally "low-lying land." If it is the same word, then Zie-ne means "earthly Zie" and must be distinguished from "Heavenly Vang." Zie may merely be a name. In the legend of the Deluge, "Zie" or "A-Zie" is the only male survivor. "A" is a very common prefix to names and relationships.

In the Heh Miao metrical version of the 773
Flood, that catastrophy was in consequence of a quarrel between the two brothers A-F'o and

773 A-Zie. *F'o* means "thunder," but as we have just mentioned above, we do not know what *Zie* means. These two fell out about the division of the family possessions, a very common source of ill-feeling among the Miao and others. Thunder evidently lived above, probably in heaven, and A-Zie lived on earth. When Thunder threatened to destroy the earth with a deluge, A-Zie hollowed out a large gourd for himself, and collected a hundred kinds and a thousand sorts of seeds, and put them in a smaller gourd.

After the Flood, when the earth dragon had swallowed up all the water, and the hill dragon all the mist, the earth was again habitable. As all the people on the earth had been destroyed, and they were the only persons surviving, A-Zie asked his sister to be his wife. How this sister had been preserved is not clear in the Heh Miao version. She declined to be his wife on the ground that such a marriage was not proper. When A-Zie insisted, his sister proposed that each of them should take a millstone, and going to the top of adjacent hills should roll them down into the valley below. If these should be found together in the valley, one over the other after the manner of millstones, she would consent to marry him, but if they were found apart she would not be his wife. 773

Now this A-Zie was a very crafty fellow, and thinking how very improbable it was that two stones rolled from adjacent hills should thus come together, he secretly procured two other millstones, and put them one upon the other in the valley. The millstones that the brother and sister rolled from the hill-tops were lost in the brushwood, but when they came down into the valley, A-Zie showed his sister the two stones he had placed in the position required, and claimed that she should be his wife. She, however, was not yet satisfied, and demanded another appeal to chance or overruling providence. She suggested that a scabbard for two knives should be placed in the valley, and each of them taking a knife should hurl them from the adjacent hill-tops into the valley. If both knives were found in the scabbard, she would be his wife; if otherwise, she would not.

A-Zie, again thinking it very improbable that the knives would be thrown into the scabbard from such a great distance, surreptitiously put two other knives in the scabbard. The knives thrown from the hill-tops were, as he expected, lost, but when they came

773 down into the valley, he showed her the two knives in the scabbard and she finally consented to be his wife. In course of time a child was born to them without any limbs. A-Zie was very angry, and taking a big knife killed the child, chopped it to bits, and scattered the bits all over the hill-side. Next morning they discovered that these pieces had all changed into men and women, and thus the earth was re-peopled.

Part of this legend may, as an illustration of all, be given in a rough translation of the Metric Version:

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Zie demanded his sister in marriage,
His sister spoke,
Spoke how?
    Thus by rote I sing,
    Still don't understand.

Then his sister spoke,
You want to marry your sister;
Lift up a millstone each opposite,
Let go to roll to the valley;
(If) they roll and make one,
You marry your sister.
If the stones rest apart in the valley,
(We) both go and rest in our own place.
So his sister spoke,
Spoke words thus,
    Why don't you understand?

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Let the stones go into the valley;
Did the stones then make one (or)
Did the stones rest apart?
    I who sing don't know.

The stones rested apart.
Zie contrived wickedly,
Put stones in the valley,
Called his sister to come
To see the stones become one.
A-Zie then spoke,
Now we two will marry,
Spoke words thus,
    Why don't you understand?

His sister again spoke,
Spoke words nicely,
How did she speak?
    Thus by rote I sing,
    Still don't understand.

His sister again spoke,
Take knives each on a separate hill,
Throw the knives into the valley;
(If they) enter into one sheath,
We two will marry.
(If) the knives rest apart,
We will rest apart.
So his sister spoke,
Spoke words thus,
    Why don't you understand?

A-Zie then hit on a plan,
Made up his mind what to do,
He would have his sister for wife.
    Thus by rote I sing,
    Still don't understand.

773 A-Zie then hit on a plan,
530 He made his heart wicked,
Made two pairs of knives,
He placed knives in the valley,
(They) rested apart.
Threw and went into the grass,
(He) called his sister to come
To see the two knives in a pair.
Now we two will marry,
He would have his sister for wife,
Why don't you understand?

Would have his sister for wife,
The two returned home.
Who did they ask (about it)?
Commanded what?
So the two got married.
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

So the two returned home,
And asked their Mother,
Their Mother then said,
Heaven has no people,
Earth has no people,
You two must marry.
Kill buffaloes, kill cows, receive guests,
Hang meat on the branches of the "Zan" tree,
Call your brother cousin,[1]
Hang meat on the branches of the "Ma sang" tree,
Call your Mother mother-in-law,
So their Mother spoke,
Spoke words thus,
And the two got married.
Why don't you understand?

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[1] Not a human being but a genius or fairy; the same with the guests.

So the two got married,
Afterwards they had a child,
Had a child, what sort?
    Thus by rote I sing,
    Still don't understand.

Afterwards they had a child,
Had a child like a hammer,
    Why don't you understand?

They had a child which had no arms or legs—this is why they say it was like a hammer.

Had a child like a hammer,
Zie saw, did Zie love it?
    Thus by rote I sing,
    Still don't understand.

Zie saw and did not love it,
Zie saw and Zie got angry,
    Why don't you understand?

A-Zie was full of anger,
Took the child and did what?
    Thus by rote I sing,
    Still don't understand.

A-Zie was full of anger,
Zie drew out a great knife,
Took the child and chopped it up,
    Why don't you understand?

Zie took the child and chopped it up,
Where did he throw (the pieces)?
Flesh went and got a name,
What did they become and what were they called?
    Thus by rote I sing,
    Still don't understand.

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He sowed them on the hill,
In the morning they became people,
Thus they got a name,
What they became so they were called,
Why don't you understand?

773 Mr. H. J. Hewitt had the same story told him, in a different way, by the Hua Miao. Years ago they told me their story, but I did not write it down; so here is Mr. Hewitt's version.

According to this, two brothers ploughed a field one day, and next morning found the soil all replaced and smoothed over as if it had never been disturbed. This happened four times, and being greatly perplexed they decided to plough the field over once more and observe what happened. In the middle of the night while the brothers were watching, one on one side of the field and the other on the other side, they saw an old woman descend from heaven with a board in her hand, who, after replacing the clods of earth, smoothed them with the board. The elder brother at once shouted to the younger one to come and help him to kill the old woman who had undone all their work. But the younger brother suggested that they should first ask her why she did this and put them to so much trouble. So they asked the old woman why she had acted so, and made them labour in vain. She then told them it was useless for them to waste time in ploughing land as a great flood was coming to drown the world. She then advised the younger brother, because he had been kind to her and prevented the elder brother killing her, to save himself in a huge wooden drum. He was to cut down a tree, hollow it out from the bottom upwards, and nail a piece of skin over the opening. She told the elder brother, because he had wished to kill her, to make for himself an iron drum. They were each to retire into their respective drums when the flood came.

When the flood came and the waters rose, the younger brother invited his sister to take refuge in his drum, and she did so. The elder brother was drowned in his iron drum, but the younger brother and his sister were safely preserved in the wooden one. The waters rose half-way up to heaven, and so high were the brother and sister carried in the hollow tree. With the rush of water they were carried hither and thither, and the tree at length was seen by one of the Genii of heaven, who thought it was some huge creature with as many horns as the tree had branches. He was very much alarmed, and said: "I have only twelve horns,

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but this thing has many more; whatever shall I do?" Thereupon he cried out for the dragon, lizards, tadpoles, and eels to clear out the channels and make holes for the waters of the flood to recede, and thus deliver him from the monster with so many horns.

Through the efforts of the dragon and his crew, after twenty days the waters subsided, and the hollow tree stuck half-way down a steep and dangerous precipice. Then it came to pass that an eagle built its nest and hatched two young ones. This suggested a mode of deliverance from their difficult situation to the young man. He plucked some hair from his head, plaited a small cord, and with this tied the wings of the young eagles so that when they were fledged they were unable to fly.

The mother-bird was much perplexed when in due time her young ones could not fly, and went to consult a fairy about it. The fairy said, "Go and ask the stem of the tree near to which your nest is built, and it will tell you what to do. In return for this you must take the tree and fly away with it down to the ground." So the bird flew back to its nest, and addressing the tree, said: "Let my young ones fly, I pray thee." The man in the tree replied, "If I let them fly will you carry me down to the ground in safety ?" The eagle promised to do so, and the young man at once unfastened the cords he had tied round the wings of the young eagles, and they were immediately able to fly. Then the eagle took the tree, with the brother and sister in it, and flew with it down to the ground.

On coming out from their late abode, these two survivors found themselves in great straits. They had no companions, no fire, and no rice to eat. The brother seeing a red bird not far from him, picked up a piece of old iron and struck at it. The bird flew away, and the iron struck a rock which gave forth a spark. Thus they discovered the way to get fire, and having gathered some dry stalks, they made a fire at which they warmed themselves.

Finding no other human beings on the earth, the brother proposed to his sister that they should be man and wife. Here also the sister was unwilling, and here also the matter was to be decided by the two millstones as in the Heh Miao story; but in the Hua Miao version it was the brother who proposed that test. Here also the millstones were found in the valley one upon the other, but nothing is said about the way in which the brother deceived his sister. For a second trial the sister was to

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

773 take a needle and the brother a piece of thread and throw them into the valley; if the needle was found threaded in the valley, it was agreed they should marry. The needle was found threaded in the valley, and so they became man and wife. When their child was born without arms and legs, they appealed to the fairy about it, who told them to cut up the child in a hundred pieces, and throw the pieces in a hundred different places. They did this, and next morning all these pieces had turned into men and women, who took their names from the things on which the pieces had fallen. Thus one was called Water, another Wood, another Stone, and so on. Hence the "hundred families,"[1] and this is how the earth was re-peopled and how people got their names.

The Ya-ch'io Miao, three or four days south of Kweiyang, also tell the Story of the Flood. They also tell of a brother and sister, the only survivors, who were saved in a huge bottle gourd they had hollowed out for themselves. They also tell the story of the millstones, but as the second test they mention two trees. If both bore fruit, they would marry; if one bore fruit and the other did not, they would not

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[1] The Chinese Book of Names is called *Peh-chia-sing* or "Hundred Family Names."

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marry. Finally, they married and had two children, who were born mute and without arms or legs. These they cut in pieces, and the pieces turned into men and women.

The Ya-ch'io Miao say the man's name was Bu-i, and his sister's name Ku-eh ("eh" like "i" in "Sir"). When talking Chinese they call Bu-i "Fu-hsi," who is sometimes called the Chinese Noah. *Bu* probably means "ancestor," and *I* means "one" or "first," and thus *Bu-i* almost certainly means "First Ancestor." In the name of the sister, *Ku* may mean "ancient," and *eh* means "water." The Miao, as we have mentioned, have no characters which would help to settle the meaning of a word. As in Chinese, they have many words pronounced exactly the same, but with very different meanings, so Chinese students, at all events, will understand why it is not wise to dogmatise about the meaning of Miao names. Besides, my Ya-ch'io Miao vocabulary is very limited, but future students might bear these points in mind.

The Ya-ch'io Miao say that P'an-ku divided heaven and earth. P'an-ku in their own language they call Wa-Ku-lo. Now the Chinese are by no means clear or unanimous as to the meaning of P'an-ku. It is generally understood to be the name of a person, but some scholars suggest that the two words *P'an-ku* mean "ancient times." Beyond all question the word *Ku* as written means "ancient," "antiquity," and the word *P'an*, among the many other things it means, means also "to coil," "to wind," "coiled," "winding." Thus *P'an-ku* might mean "revolving ages" and be equivalent to "long, long ago." In that case *P'an-ku k'ai t'ien, p'i ti* would mean "long, long ago heaven and earth were divided" (or formed). *Wa-ku-lo* is the Ya-ch'io name or equivalent of *P'an-ku*. *Wa* means "ten thousand" and *lo* means "old." I am not sure what *ku* means, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that it means the same here as in the name of the only woman survivor of the Flood, Ku-eh, and the same as in the Chinese name P'an-ku, that is, that it is the Chinese word *Ku* and means "ancient," "antiquity." This then would give us "Old ten thousand ages ago" as the Ya-ch'io Miao equivalent of P'an-ku. It should be noted that in the Miao language the adjectives come after nouns, and in adding the adjective "lo" they would put it after Wa-ku. Wa-ku is evidently their rendering of the Chinese P'an-ku, and lo is an addition of their own which personifies the term. Did they in former times say "Ages long ago, heaven and earth were divided"? And in course of time, as the tradition passed from generation to generation, and the meaning of it was partly lost, did they personify the term "ages ago" by adding the word "old" to it, and thus say Wa-ku-lo, Old Wa-ku, divided heaven and earth? It seems very like it.

In all the Miao stories of the Flood, the three mentioned above and others, there are always just two survivors, a brother and sister, who became man and wife. It is interesting to note that Ovid in his Story of the Deluge knows only of two survivors, Deucalion and Pyrrha his wife, who was also his sister. This is manifest from the way Deucalion addresses her, "O soror, O coniux, O femina sola superstes." They were told by an oracle to throw the bones of their great mother behind them. When they understood that by their great mother the earth was meant, and that by bones stones were meant, they threw stones behind them. Those thrown by the man became men, and those thrown by the woman became women, and thus in Ovid's story the earth was repeopled. If it should be objected that Deucalion and Pyrrha were only cousins, it is also possible that the two Miao survivors were also cousins.

773 The children of brothers among the Miao and Chinese are reckoned as brothers and sisters, and not allowed to marry.

We mentioned above that Bu-i, which almost certainly means "First Ancestor," is the Ya-ch'io Miao name for Fu-hsi, who is sometimes called the Chinese Noah. Readers may thereby be led to infer that the Chinese also have a story of Noah's Deluge, but this would be misleading. At the very dawn of Chinese history, in the days of Yao and Shuen, 2200 B.C., the "Book of History" mentions a terrible inundation which desolated the land. This must have been caused at that time by an abnormal rise of the Yellow River, and probably also by the giving way of its embankments. Subsequently this water, which covered much of the land for many years, was drawn off by the unwearied labours of Yü, who later became King and Founder of the Hsia dynasty. It was after nine years' hard work, clearing out the old and cutting new channels for the water, that the land was drained. There can be no doubt that Yao, Shuen, and Yü were historical characters, but much of what is said of them in the "Historical Books" is legendary. They were the earliest leaders of the Chinese people, and later times regarded them as ideal kings, endowing

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them with all virtue, all wisdom, and with superhuman ability.

It is not difficult in those legends of the overflow of the Yellow River to trace the legend of an earlier and more terrible flood. It is said, "In their vast extent they (the waters) embrace the mountains and over-top the hills, threatening heaven with their floods." This is very extraordinary language to use in describing an abnormal rise of the Yellow River. Dr. Legge, in his Prolegomena to the *Shu King* or "Book of History;" touches on this question, and concludes by saying, "I think, therefore, that in the description of the inundation of Yao's time we have an imperfect reference to the Deluge of Noah."

Why Fu-hsi is sometimes called the Chinese Noah is not very clear. According to Chinese mythology, P'an-ku was the first man, but Fu-hsi was also the first man of another epoch, and it is worthy of note that there were ten generations between P'an-ku and Fu-hsi. The time of Fu-hsi is given as 2852 B.C. Evidently for these reasons some writers have spoken of Fu-hsi as the Chinese Noah. This opinion is confirmed by the Ya-ch'io Miao legend of Bu-i, who was beyond all doubt their Noah, and whom when speaking Chinese they call Fu-hsi.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Religious beliefs of Miao—Musical festivals—Pony-running—Buffalo fights—Fear of demons—Wizards or exorcists—Soothsayers—Witchcraft—Heaven—Funeral ceremonies—Offerings to ancestors—Marriage customs—Miao tales.

000 IT is somewhat difficult for a stranger and foreigner to learn the religious beliefs of a people like the Miao. They know, or suspect, that the foreigner does not believe what they believe, and they are afraid that he may laugh at them. Even to themselves they cannot give a very satisfactory reason for much of what they believe and practise. When pressed for a reason or an explanation, they reply that their people have always said and done such things, and they are manifestly unwilling to discuss such matters.

We have, however, known some of them so long, and some of them so intimately, as to justify us in venturing some opinions on this subject. Although the Miao are reticent in the presence of a foreigner, converts and inquirers are ready to talk about and explain things frankly to the missionary. It must be remembered that some of these Miao tribes have been widely separated in time and space, so that what may truly be said of some of them may not be true of all. And here it may as well be admitted that we who have been so much among them have yet a good deal to learn, and possibly something of what has been learned has not been properly understood. But the religious ideas and practices of a new people, for the Miao are a new people to many of our readers, are always interesting, so we shall now put down what we have learned, or think we have learned, about them. 000

And first let it be said that, as far as our 771 own observation goes, the Miao have no idols and do not worship any gods. We have heard of idols among the Miao, but cannot remember ever to have seen them. They have no temples and no priests, and we never saw them engaged in any act of adoration. They are certainly not Buddhists. They practise certain rites in reference to the dead or to demons, such as a stranger might naturally suppose were acts of divine worship, but they are not acts of divine worship as the term is generally understood.

771 From the earliest times the Chinese have known and worshipped *Shang-ti* as the Supreme Being, and have also worshipped inferior local deities. Many of the Miao have been living in close touch with the Chinese for ages, and some of them, as at present, have intermixed much with the Chinese, but, as far as we know, they have not copied the Chinese in their earlier worship of Shang-ti, or in their later worship of Buddhist and Taoist idols.

Most of the Chinese now say they worship Heaven and Earth, and the Miao, when asked about their objects of worship, will sometimes say they worship Heaven and Earth. This, we think, they have learned to say from the Chinese, and learned to say recently. We have often seen the Chinese worshipping Heaven and Earth, and though we have been in and out among the Miao now for fifteen years, we never saw them worshipping Heaven and Earth or any other object. Little shrines may sometimes be seen at the entrance to their villages, but this building of shrines is said to be a recent innovation. We have frequently seen them sacrificing animals and making offerings to the dead, but we never saw them worshipping at a shrine. After years of intercourse and inquiry among them, we are of opinion that those who are not Christians do not pray to or worship any Supreme Being. 771

This is the more remarkable as they have the story of a Creation. The Heh Miao say Vang-vai made heaven and earth, and Zie-ne made other things, but they never worship Vang-vai or Zie-ne. The Hua Miao say that in the beginning there was no heaven and earth. There was a man named Gloe-an, and his wife Ngo-a, and these had two sons. The elder, beating about with a brass hammer, made forty-eight heavens, or a heaven in forty-eight parts. The younger son, with an iron hammer, beat about and made earth in forty-eight compartments. We never heard of them worshipping these persons. 773

All the Miao have musical festivals once or twice a year, now in one part of the country and now in another. If asked why they hold these festivals, they say that if they failed to do so their harvests would be bad; and yet they do not profess to understand how the harvests are influenced by this custom. If ever there was a religious element in their musical festivals, there does not seem to be anything religious about them now. As at present conducted they are fêtes, attended by the people from all the countryside, at which there is not 796 527

796 527 only music but also pony-running and buffalo fights. These fêtes are great occasions for social intercourse among the old folk and for courting among the young. A young man once remarked to a missionary, "If I do not go to the festivals I shall never get a wife." Scores and hundreds of girls are to be seen there in all the glory of richly-embroidered clothes and heavy silver ornaments, and just as many young men in their finery.

534 The musical instrument they play at these festivals they call *Ki*, and the Chinese call it *Lu sen* or "six tones." They are made of bamboo pipes, sometimes six being let into a piece of wood like a hollow club, the handle of which is the mouth-piece. The noise—perhaps we ought to say sound—is produced by a brass tongue attached to a small metal frame (such as are used in concertinas and harmoniums) let into the bamboo tube, one in each of them. The sound is something like the sound of the bagpipes. They are made in sets of different sizes, the smallest having pipes about three feet long, and the largest with pipes twelve or fourteen feet long. The lower end of the large pipes is put into a drum or cylinder three or four feet long, hollowed out of the trunk of a tree. These large reeds give forth a very creepy

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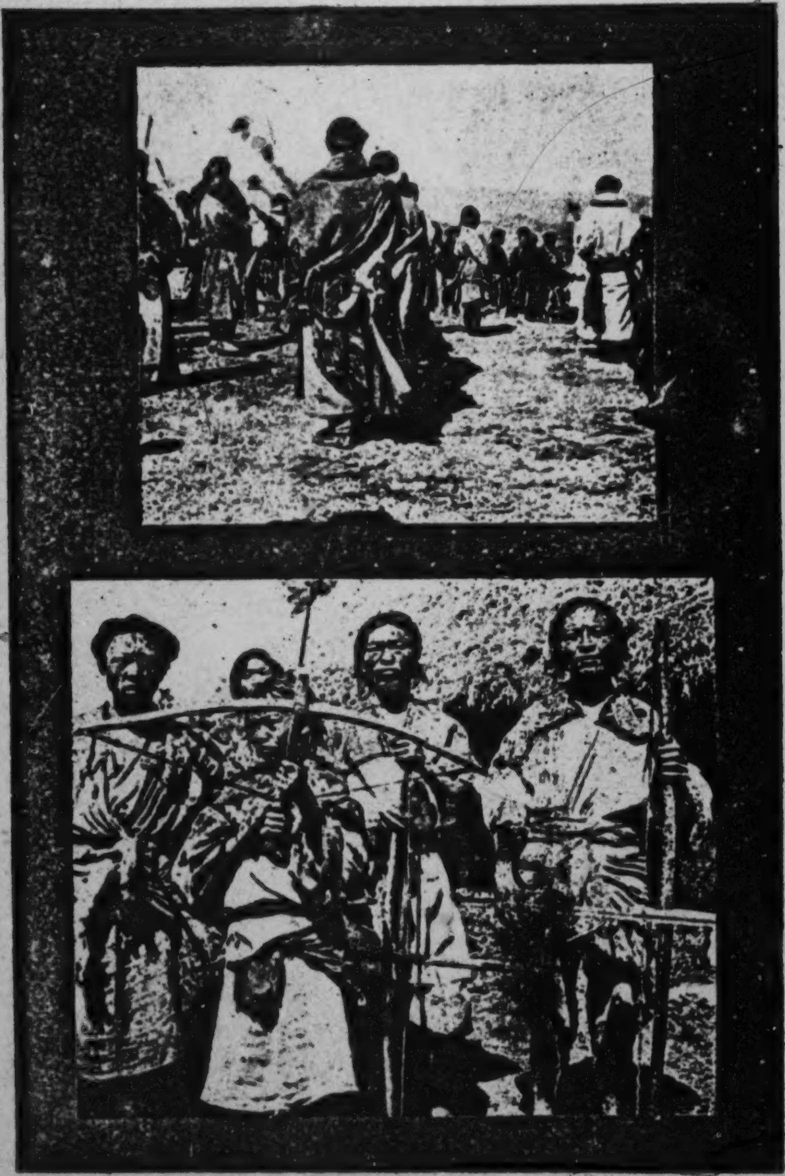

The top picture gives a glimpse of a Hua Miao (Flowery Miao) Festival held outside the city of Anshunfu.

The lower picture is a group of Ta-hua Miao (Great Flowery Miao) hunters at Ten-ten, thirty miles north of Anshunfu. (See page 184.)

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sound, the lowest note, we believe, to which 534 mortal ears are sensible. The tunes they play are very monotonous.

At the Heh Miao festivals, five players in a 535 row, with instruments of different sizes, wheel 796 round and round the man who plays the large pipes with the drum. A row of five young women go round with them, sometimes facing them and moving backwards, sometimes behind and following. To alter their position the young women wheel outside of the circle, let the pipers go round, and then wheel in again. This they call dancing, but there is no real dancing about it; it is merely pacing, yet it seems to interest them, and they do it very seriously. We think it must be reckoned bad form for them to laugh or smile while thus engaged, for we have seen the girls severely exerting themselves to keep their faces straight, when they evidently wanted at least to smile. As for the pipers, it is no laughing or smiling 533 matter for them. They exert themselves so 796 much that their cheeks are swollen, their eyes seem to stand out of their heads, and the perspiration streams down their red faces. We have seen thirty or forty of these groups of ten, circling round on one plot of ground, hemmed in by hundreds of spectators. The

533 796 sound of so many pipes all playing independently at the same time and place is certainly not music, and soon becomes positively exasperating to some ears. On the edge of the crowd are sweetstuff and cake sellers, and other hawkers moving about.

796 All the Miao have these festivals, but the music and pacing are not the same. Among the Hua Miao and Shui-hsi Miao, the women do not dance, but men dressed up in women's clothes, with their hair done up like women, take their place. Among the Hua Miao, all the babies born during the year are taken to these festivals, and carried about on the backs of their fathers. Many of the Miao villages around Anshunfu have, besides the pipes, their own band of four musicians, provided with a drum, a pair of cymbals, and two flageolets or flutes. These musicians are often invited and paid by the Chinese to play at their marriages, funerals, and other functions.

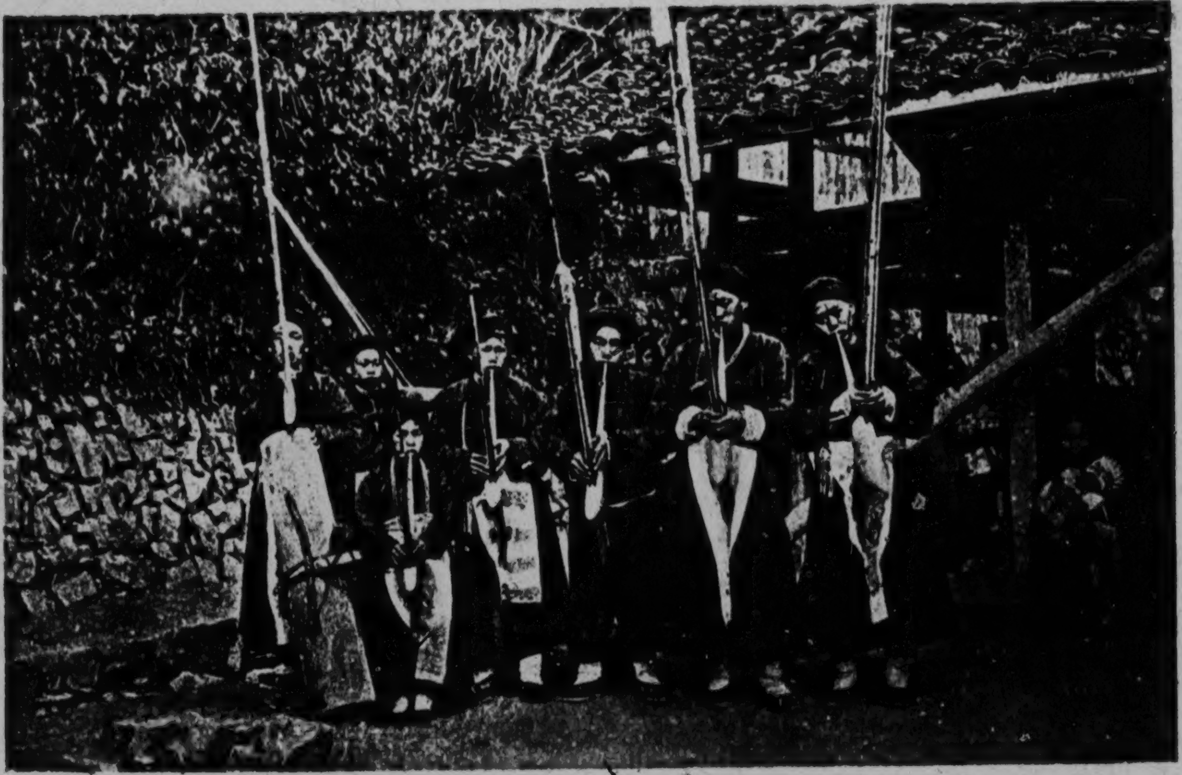
541 796 The pony-runnings at these festivals are not races, and there are no prizes given. A piece of land is selected, level or nearly level, and about one hundred and fifty yards long. Along this they gallop in a line one after another. On reaching the end of the course they turn off, and walk or trot back again to the starting-

541 796 place, like boys who have made a slide on the ice. When on the course they gallop the ponies at the top of their speed. Any one on a pony can join in or leave off when he likes.

We have attended these festivals, but have never seen a buffalo fight. We have seen men urging on the buffaloes to fight with one another, but the animals either did not understand what was expected of them or they had too much sense to do anything so foolish. On one occasion we saw a buffalo, exasperated by these attempts, break away from its tormentors and tear away at full speed across the ground. It overturned a pony and its rider, but did not attempt to gore them. All the buffalo wanted was to get clear away, and as everybody there showed the utmost possible alacrity to give it plenty of room, it succeeded. We have heard, however, that buffaloes do fight sometimes at these festivals, and that now and then one gets killed in the contest. They also fight sometimes of their own accord. We once saw two combatant buffaloes with their horns locked together, and half of the village pulling at ropes attached to their hind legs. They were finally pulled apart, and neither of them seemed any the worse for the encounter.

000 The Miao and, we think, all the other races

Facing p. 66



A Group of Heh Miao (Black Miao) Pipe-Players at Panghai.

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533

771 THE MIAO AND, WE THINK, ALL THE OTHER RACES of Eastern Asia ought to be reckoned as Animists. The Chinese may call themselves Confucianists and Buddhists, but they are also Animists. It is conceivable that in a short time many of them will profess to be Agnostics and Materialists, but they will also be Animists. For all the peoples of Eastern Asia the world is full of immaterial powers and intelligences, even certain rocks and trees are possessed of some sort of spiritual efficacy. Among the Miao these spiritual beings are demons and always inimical to human kind.

771 755 At first we were inclined to think that the Miao worshipped demons, but when again and again they denied this, and seemed unfeignedly amused at the idea of worshipping demons, we concluded that we were mistaken. The performances they go through, which seem to us like religious rites, are done to drive away or keep away the demons, and to counteract their evil influences. If a man is ill, or his cattle sick, if he has had bad luck, or any misfortune befalls him, he attributes this to demons; and a wizard or exorcist is summoned. Their modes of procedure are various, but might generally be summed up as offerings, unintelligible mutterings, and the throwing about of rice water and 755 knives in every direction. They also believe

in the use of herbs as medicine, but when to 755 take medicine and when to send for the exorcist is not very clear. We imagine when a man is sick he first takes medicine, and if this fails to act as it ought, he concludes there is a demon troubling him and sends for an exorcist to deal with it. In the case of ague, the Heh Miao always think it is a demon, and the sufferer goes away into the woods to hide himself and thus escape from it.

Any man who has learned the incantations 791 and knows how things ought to be done, may be a wizard or exorcist. Their fees are not exorbitant. A quart or two of rice, and a little of anything else that may be going, pork or whisky, is all they get for their services. There are usually two or three of them in every village. The Miao say that their exorcists are the same as the Chinese *tuan-kung* or Taoists, and so it appears to us they are.

Sometimes a man is accused of having a 754 demon, and this is a bad thing for the man, if it is generally believed. This does not mean that he is possessed by a devil, but that he has at his command a demon who does his will to the injury of others. We know a man who lately accused a neighbour before the Chinese magistrate for saying that he had a demon.

754 They believe also in such demon possession as is recorded in the New Testament; so do also the Chinese.

791 They also believe in soothsayers, and often when anything is lost or stolen, or if an unknown person has injured their property, they consult them. After the soothsayer has received his fee, he performs certain ceremonies, and after a longer or shorter time a demon takes possession of him. He at once begins to mutter and answer questions, without moving his lips, something after the manner of a ventriloquist. Very often the answers are correct, but not always. The Miao say it is the demon who speaks, not the man. Sometimes the soothsayer will tell a man to offer oxen in sacrifice to his deceased parents when his luck is bad. These soothsayers do not eat flesh meat. A missionary once asked one of them if he were still practising his art, whereat all the other Miao laughed, and the man replied, "Since I have begun to eat meat the demon will not come to me."

754 The Miao are great believers in witches and witchcraft, but they say that only one here and there can really bewitch people. Even the Chinese are afraid of Miao witches, and fear to eat food offered them by the Miao lest they

should be bewitched or poisoned. Missionaries, 754 who are not infrequently appealed to by Chinese when they fancy themselves bewitched by the Miao, mostly find them to be suffering from malarial. The Miao say that the witch throws things down on the road, sometimes only a straw, and the first person who comes along is bewitched. They may also bewitch a person's food and in this way injure him. Some time ago the whole countryside not far from Anshunfu was troubled by a witch. The Miao from that region came in a body to the district magistrate in Anshunfu city, and petitioned that the witch might be removed from that neighbourhood. The witch was arrested and banished.

All the Miao believe in the soul and a future 775 state. The Ya-ch'io Miao say that a man has three souls—one is his shadow, one is his reflection as seen in the water, and the third is his real self. Probably they learned this from the Chinese. As a rule, we think they only know and speak of one soul. They also believe in heaven, but most of them know nothing about a hell. The Hua Miao say there is a place in the earth where demons are, but do not mention it as a place to which the souls of the wicked go. They think that ordinary people, that is most

775 people, when they die go to heaven, but that very wicked people are born again on earth in a very wretched condition. We doubt if they attach the same idea of superlative bliss to the place where the dead go as is generally associated with heaven, but we must think of it as heaven because they call it so, and speak of it as being above the sky. The ancient Chinese seem to have had no knowledge of a purgatory or hell. In the Classical Books the good kings who died are mentioned as being in heaven with their loyal ministers, but nothing is said of bad kings and bad ministers who died, or of the common people. What the Chinese now say of hell or purgatory they learned from the Buddhists, and if any Miao now talk of hell, they have probably learnt it from the Chinese.

764 Of course, beliefs and practices vary among the different tribes, and their funeral ceremonies and rites concerning the dead are not all just the same. Among the Heh Miao when a man dies they plait a mat of bamboo, six feet by two feet, upon which they lay the corpse. In dressing the dead they do not fasten the clothes in the usual way on the right side, but lay them loose on the left side. Next they invite an exorcist to drive away any evil influences that might injure the living or the dead, and to choose

a day for the interment. To drive away all evil influences, he kills an ox, pig, sheep, fowl, or duck. If the deceased is a man, he kills a male animal; if a woman, a female one. The animal and any other victim used is subsequently eaten. All the relations of the family are notified, who come to console and make presents, mostly of calico, though some may give satin to cover the corpse. Sometimes the relations give the animals used in sacrifice, and sometimes money to assist in the expenses.

A suitable day having been chosen for the burial, before beginning to dig the grave, they make a hole in the middle of the plot, and having burned a small piece of flesh, they put it in the hole. This sod with the burnt meat is then cut out and placed on one side, to be finally put on the top of the grave. When the grave, which is not very deep, is dug, the empty coffin is placed in it. On the bottom of the coffin they spread five, seven, or nine layers of paper. Why this is done no one seems to know.

Before the body is carried out, the exorcist "calls the road" or "opens the road." The idea is that the soul of the deceased is going on a long journey, and the exorcist tells him, or her, the route. He says: "You will see the Centipede Hill; don't be afraid (there are lots of centipedes on it). When you come to the Snow Mountain, don't fear the cold, When you come to the door of heaven, an old man guards it who will not let you in. Tell him who you are and all about yourself, and he will allow you to enter." On entering heaven the deceased may meet father or mother, or some other relation, and live with them. If he does get into heaven he will be happy, but if he fails to enter he will have to be reborn and suffer on earth. When the exorcist has finished his directions, he wrings the neck of a fowl, and this fowl in the other world will lead the soul to the door of heaven.

The body is carried out on the bamboo mat or frame and laid in the coffin. A son of the deceased, or a younger member of the family, bewails the dead, and calls out the name or relationship three times. When the corpse is encoffined, the exorcist takes a short bamboo tube in which is some water, and splits it on the coffin, saying, "On which side this water flows, drink water on that side." This means that, on the journey to heaven, when the deceased is thirsty he is to drink water on that side of the road. Next the exorcist takes some blades of "cutting grass" and chops them in pieces, saying, "If your brother, or sister, or other relative follows you, you must send them back." He then throws the chopper and the cut grass from the head of the grave past the foot of it. This is done to prevent any other of the family dying and following the deceased. Then the son with a mattock begins to fill in the grave; the others assist till the grave is filled in, and the earth piled over it.

When returning home, a tub or basin of water is placed on the road at the entrance of the village, in which all who have assisted at the burial wash their hands. The last person to wash smashes the tub or basin. On returning to the house they all eat a meal. On the third day after the funeral some of the family rise at cock-crow, and proceeding to the grave call upon the deceased to return. They pick up small stones and, throwing them at the grave, say, " Who is keeping our father ? let him come back." In crossing a stream they lay a bamboo pole across it, and say that the spirit may pass over that. When daylight comes they burn incense at the grave and offer a fowl or duck and some whisky. The fowl or duck is killed at the grave, and the whisky poured out on the grave. On their return home they place the shoes of the departed near some water in a basin, with a towel, and call upon him to come and

764 wash his face. They also offer some cooked fowl, whisky, and rice to the deceased. After these ceremonies some rice is given to all the guests, who may eat it at once or take it home with them.

763 The Hua Miao, when a man or woman is about to die, send for the exorcist, who first assures himself that the patient is actually dying and not merely fainting. When it appears that the sick person is really dying, the exorcist relates the story of Gloe-an and Ngọ-a, the first man and woman, and the making of heaven and earth, so that the moribund may know his way about after death. The exorcist then says: "I shall now show you the way to heaven. On the road there are many creeping things, so you must wear a pair of hemp sandals lest they bite your feet. When you get half-way up, you will see tigers with their mouths wide open waiting to devour you. Carry some hemp on your back, and when a tiger attempts to bite you, let him bite the hemp, and make your escape. When you are half-way up, the sun shines with a burning heat; take this piece of calico and cover your eyes—you will find it in your breast pocket.

"When you arrive at the gate of heaven, the door-keeper may refuse to let you in, and you must beseech him to let you pass. If he says, 763 'If I open the gate will you transform yourself and be my ox?' you must answer, 'No! I will not.' If he says, 'Will you be my horse?' you must say, 'No! I will not.' Then say to him, 'I will transform myself and be your servant.' When you say this, he will open the door, and you must quickly pass in and go on. After walking for some time you will come to a place where there are three roads; the one to the right is for Chinese, the one to the left for I-chia, and the one in the middle is the Hua Miao road, which all your forefathers have taken. If some one finely dressed comes to show you the way, it is some one come to deceive you, and not one of your ancestors. If a person wearing coarse clothes comes to lead you, follow him, he is one of your forefathers. If some one with a bad heart asks, 'Who brought you here?' you must say, 'One tall and stout.' If they ask you, 'Can you find him?' you must say, 'You cannot overtake him, his eyes are as big as a cup and his ears as big as a fan.' And now," the exorcist concludes, "I have shown you the way to your ancestors and the demons (or spirits), and you must remain there for ever."

Subsequently, at different periods, the Miao 764 offer sacrifices to their ancestors. Probably all 782

764 782 the oxen killed among them are killed as offerings to their ancestors or to demons. We were never able to buy beef among the Heh Miao, though they killed oxen two or three times a month, because they were all used as offerings to the dead or to demons, and the Miao Christians did not think it right to eat such beef.

782 796 The Ya-ch'io Miao sacrifice to Heaven and Earth once a year. They offer an ox to Heaven and a pig to Earth. They have a big sacrifice once in thirteen years, when they sacrifice buffaloes to Heaven. On this occasion every family is expected to kill a buffalo, so sometimes several tens of buffaloes are killed in one village. They also sacrifice to their ancestors. These offerings and sacrifices to ancestors are not made from love, we imagine, so much as fear. They think if they do not offer these sacrifices, the spirits of their ancestors will come and bring calamities upon them.

584 Marriage among the Miao is arranged much the same as among the Chinese, by a match-maker or go-between; but, unlike the Chinese, the match-maker mostly comes upon the scene after the young people have shown a decided preference for one another. The young men and maidens do much of their courting quite openly at the musical festivals, and at the village fairs.

Very often a couple or a group of young people go out for long walks together. It would be well, for obvious reasons, if there were less of that sort of thing. After living for some time among the Chinese, who are nothing if not conventional, and among whom Mrs. Grundy is well-nigh omnipotent, it is surprising and amusing to visit a Kweichow market among the Miao, and see the lads and lasses frolicking with one another on the street and around the stalls. It reminds one of a country fair at home.

But sometimes, and not infrequently, the girl's parents object to her lover, and from mercenary motives arrange a marriage without consulting the inclinations of the young people. The price paid for a wife among the Miao is usually from thirty to sixty Mexican dollars. These mercenary marriages nearly always prove a miserable failure, and lead to numerous daughter-in-law disputes. Not that those marriages which are the result of mutual liking are always happy. We imagine that many, perhaps one-half of the Miao women over thirty years of age, have been married once or twice to men who are now living, before they settled down with the man they now call their husband.

We know one girl who left her first husband because she did not like him. After her parents

584 had repaid the money the husband's family had expended on the marriage, she married again, and now seems settled and contented with her husband and two or three children. Another woman we know was betrothed when a girl to a man who left home for awhile, and while he was away her parents married her to another. When the man to whom she had been betrothed came back and claimed her, the man who had married her gave her up, and she became the wife of the other. We know another young woman, not yet thirty, who is subject to epileptic fits, who has been married half-a-dozen, perhaps a dozen, times. When her new husband discovers she is subject to these fits, he sends her home again and does not want her.

585 After a marriage has been arranged, a day is fixed for the receiving of the bride. The kinsfolk and friends of both parties are invited, a room is cleared out—sometimes it is the cow-house, which is really a part of the dwelling-house—and seats put all round against the wall for the guests. The guests all make presents to the bridegroom's family—rice, or jars of whisky, and sometimes silver. These contributions to their host considerably diminish the cost of the marriage feast. The bride, who walks from her

parents' home, escorted by her girl friends all dressed in their best and wearing their silver ornaments, generally arrives during the afternoon.

Among the Hua Miao, after the evening meal, the bride and one of her companions lay aside their fine clothes, and, taking a tub half full of water, wash the feet of all the guests, beginning with the men. When this is done they all settle themselves for a night of whisky-drinking and song-singing. The guests sing the virtue of their host, praising the kindly way he has received them and the rich food provided for their entertainment. Then the host, or some one on his behalf, replies also in song, belittling the host and grieving over the contemptible style in which the guests have been treated. The legends of the tribe are also chanted one after another; sometimes one voice leading and the others joining in a sort of chorus; sometimes one party singing interrogatively and another party singing responsively. The feasting, singing, and noise go on for three days and nights, at the end of which time the guests depart and the bride, with her companions, returns to her parents' home. Sometimes the bride stays more than three days at the home of her husband.

585 The return of the bride to her parents' home is also somewhat of a festive occasion. I shall here copy some lines from my wife's diary, which describes the return of a bride among the Heh-Miao after staying at the bridegroom's home for twelve days :—

"Took Rosie to see a bride returning to her
mother's home. A group of seven or eight
young women dressed in their best, and with
flags made of red and green paper, were waiting
on a little hill for her arrival. After waiting a
long time, we saw the bridal party approaching.
First came three men, and then six men carrying
three slaughtered pigs on poles. One man
carried two large baskets of cotton swinging on
a pole, and another man carried four jackets
585 and four skirts in the same way. The bride
592 wore a crown, a magnificent piece of workmanship—
301 ribbons, birds, flowers, and filigree work,
all made of silver. Around her neck she had
seven silver necklets, some large and solid
looking and some very prettily worked. She
had also seven or eight bracelets on each arm,
and silver spangles all over that part of the
jacket that was not embroidered. She also wore
a richly embroidered skirt. Mrs. P'an told me
the dress and silver ornaments were worth at
least one hundred and thirty Mexican dollars.

When she came in sight the young women and 585 some girls went to meet her, and she asked them to go before her to her home. When she arrived at home two women stood just inside the door, one on each side, with a pot and a small cup. I think all the guests were offered whisky, but I only saw the bride drink it. Inside were many guests assembled who were drinking. Some of the schoolgirls came in to see me during the evening, all of them smelling of whisky. The feasting, singing, and gambling went on all night and for three days. I saw some of the women quite tipsy."

After returning to her home, the girl remains with her parents till she is sent for by her husband's family, which usually happens at sowing or reaping time, when there is much work to be done. When sent for, the bride goes to her husband's home without any fuss, takes her place in her new home, and does her share of the house and farm work. Sometimes, [586] if the husband or husband's family are not satisfied with the bride, they do not ask her to return, in which case she gets married to another man. Among the Hua Miao it is the rule not to send for the newly married till she has had her first baby.

Not only do the Miao sing and recite the old 000

NOT ONLY DO THE MIAO SING AND RECITE THE OLD

538 legends in verse, handed down from very early times, but they are also, or at least some of them are, great story-tellers. Some of these stories I took down from the dictation of my Miao teacher. They are not like Chinese stories, which are moral or immoral—mostly moral. Miao stories are not moral, but if we should say they were immoral, it might suggest a wrong opinion of them. We might, I think, call them unmoral, for they do not teach or illustrate the beauty of filial piety, loyalty, truthfulness, or any other moral excellence. In their stories one or more persons are clumsily crafty, and other persons are preternaturally simple. It is the crafty or lying people who always come off best to the confusion of all honest and simple folk. That sort of thing amuses them immensely.

Some of their stories profess to explain in an amusing, if not satisfactory, way how certain things happen to be as they are. We have mentioned already how the Miao explain why they have no written characters, and why the sun rises when the cock crows. We shall now give a couple of short stories told to explain certain facts in natural history, which may interest our readers.

The Dog, the Cat, the Rat, and the Sheep

"Once upon a time the dog and the cat 538 agreed to be cousins. The dog said, 'We two have now agreed to be cousins, there must be no stealing between us.' The cat replied, 'We shall steal other people's things; we two are kinsfolk, how can we rob one another?'

"Not long afterwards the dog took off his horns, and putting them on one side, stooped down to lick the inside of a stone mortar. In a little time he straightened himself, looked around, and not seeing his horns, said to the cat, 'Have you seen my horns?' The cat replied, 'I have not seen them. I certainly do not look after your horns for you.'

"The dog searched everywhere, but could not find them, and meeting the rat, he asked if he had seen them. The rat answered, 'I know where they are.' 'Well,' said the dog, 'you tell me where they are.' The rat replied, 'Your cousin the cat has stolen your horns and put them in a cupboard.' The dog went to the cupboard and found it was shut, so he said to the rat, 'You get in and bring them out for me.' The rat inquired what reward he should get for doing this, and the dog replied, 'When I eat anything, you shall eat with me.'

538 " So the rat gnawed a hole in the cupboard, and dragged out the horns with his teeth. As he was doing this the cat saw him, and snatched them away. The dog thereupon pursued the cat, and the cat made off to the top of a tree. The dog at the foot of the tree cried out, 'Beat him!' The cat at the top of the tree said, 'I'm not afraid.' When it was dark the dog went home, and the cat, coming down from the tree, gave the horns to the sheep.

" And now the cat worries the rat, and the dog likes to chase the sheep and bite them. So instead of friendship there is enmity between them all, because of things that happened long ago."

The Swallow and the Toad

" In old times the rice plant bore grain from the bottom to the top of the stalk. This just suited the swallow, but the toad did not like it. 'It would be well,' said he, 'if instead of one harvest in the year there were three harvests per annum.' 'No,' said the swallow, 'it would be better if one harvest yielded enough for three years.' 'That,' objected the toad, 'would be very bad.' 'How would it be very bad?' asked the swallow. 'Because,' replied the toad, 'the ground would be overgrown with weeds.' 'But,' urged the swallow, 'the weeds would be very convenient, we could rest in the shade of them.' 'You only think of yourself,' said the toad. 'Well,' asked the swallow, 'how would it be bad for you?' 'I prefer,' said the toad, 'that there should be three harvests every year; thus there would be no weeds, and the snakes would not be able to seize me.'

"The swallow, however, would not agree to any such arrangement, and so they quarrelled.

"'You go,' suggested the swallow to the toad, 'and make an accusation against me.' 'Accuse you!' cried the toad; 'yes, I certainly shall go and accuse you.' The swallow thought the toad would be a long time on the road, so he said to the toad, 'You go first. I'll come along at my leisure.'

"The toad, however, was clever. He took a piece of wood and threw it in the water, and getting upon the piece of wood he floated quickly down with the stream. In this way he was the first to arrive before the king.

"The king asked him what he came about, and the toad replied, 'I have come to make an accusation.' 'Concerning what matter,' inquired the king, 'do you wish to make an accusation?' 'I desire,' said the toad, 'that

538 there should be three crops every year to supply the year's need. The swallow will not agree to this, and says he prefers that one year's crop should suffice for three years. I say that thus the ground would be overgrown with weeds, and the snake would come and eat me. So we quarrelled over it, and the swallow beat me.'

"Thereupon the king allowed the claim of the toad that every year there should be three crops, and the toad returned to his home.

"Later on the swallow, having delayed and amused himself on the way, arrived. The king asked him, 'What have you come about?' The swallow replied, 'I have come to make an accusation.' 'Concerning what matter,' demanded the king, 'do you wish to make an accusation?' 'I desire,' said the swallow, 'that one harvest should suffice for three years. The toad will not consent to this, and he beat me, so I have come to accuse him.'

"'But,' said the king, 'the matter is already decided. You will find it recorded here. You can read it.'

"The swallow, seeing the toad's claim was allowed, kept on protesting, whereupon the king with his hand hit the swallow on the top of the head, and ever since the top of the swallow's head has been flat."

Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

CHAPTER V

THE CHUNG-CHIA OR SHAN TRIBES

The Chung-chia or Shans—The Nan-chao of Yunnan—Notes from Siam—Migration to Kweichow—Chung-chia claim to be Chinese—Religious ideas—Funeral customs—Animists—Their dishonesty.

101 OF all the non-Chinese people found in China
161 proper we think those people who in Kweichow
are called the *Chung-chia* are the most numerous, and, for some reasons, perhaps the most interesting. There are probably six or seven millions of them in the four Chinese provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwangsi, and Kwangtung, and twice as many more in the adjoining states of Burma, Tongking, and Siam. In Burma they are called the *Shans* or Shan tribes. On the southern border of the Chinese Empire they are called the *Laos* or *Lao* tribes, and in Tongking and Siam they are called the *Tai* or Tai tribes. In fact, there seems to be no end to the names by which the various divisions
000 of this race are designated. Who are they?

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

Whence came they? Their history and diffusion, and their relation to other races of south-eastern Asia, are very interesting problems which still await solution. What we know, or have heard of them, we shall here set down, and hope that sooner or later these problems may be solved.

175 About seven hundred years ago Kublai Khan overthrew a kingdom, called the Nan-chao, in Yunnan. There is a history of that kingdom, in two volumes, published in Chinese at Yunnan-fu; we have seen this work, but have had no opportunity of reading it. That kingdom was formed by the amalgamation of six Chao tribes, and hence called the Nan-chao or Southern Chao, and these were Shan tribes. With the extinction of that kingdom, Yunnan was made a province and incorporated in the Chinese Empire, whereas up till that time it was only an occasional possession. Many of those people still remain in southern Yunnan, but many of them have moved to the east and farther south.

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161 We have recently received some very valuable notes concerning these people from the Rev. J. H. Freeman, missionary of the American Presbyterian Mission at Chieng-mai, Siam.[1]

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[1] See also an article by Rev. W. Clifton Dodd in *The Chinese Recorder*, December 1910.

Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

He says: "We are at work in northern Siam among the *Tai, Yuen,* and other tribes (*Lao, Lü, Küng,* and *Tai-nüeh*), who together are known as *Lao* or *Laos.* They are the largest compact section of the *Tai* race, having in common a written character and a speech which differs so little that for 600 miles S.E. to N.W. and about the same distance S.W. to N.E. one can understand them all readily, whether in Siamese, French, British, or Chinese (western Yunnan) territory. They number, say, six millions. To the south of them are Siamese numbering three millions; a kindred people, but using a different written character, and a speech not readily understood by our people, mixed with Cambodian, etc. West of the Salween River in Burma are the western *Shans,* numbering about two hundred and fifty thousand, whose speech differs also through Burman influence." 101 161

Mr. Freeman has been fifteen years in northern Siam and is much interested, both from a scientific point of view and from a missionary standpoint, in the various races of that part of Asia. As a missionary among the Siamese, he is specially interested in the various branches of the *Tai* or *Shan* race. He says, "I will briefly state what I have learned."

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212 "First: The language of the *Tai* people south and west of the Red River (Mani River of Tongking) is substantially identical with the *Tai* language spoken farther west, save that those farther west lack the religious, polite, and abstract terms which the *Laos* (*Yuen*, *Khün*, *Lü*, *Lao*, etc.) have derived from Pali, the language of Western Buddhism. They also lack almost wholly the written character which the Laos received with Buddhism from India. Other differences of vocabulary are slight. I could talk with them pretty freely on everyday subjects.

"Second: When you cross the divide from the valley of the Red River to that of the Si-kiang at Lang-son, Dong-dang, Bao-sac, Cao-bang, etc.—all in French Tongking—you find a people, the *Thos* and *Mawngs*, whose speech differs most widely from the *Tai* of northern Siam. But tone and pronunciation are quite close to the *Lü*, who are on both banks of the Mekong in French, British, and Chinese territory. There are many of them even in Siam. Their vocabulary does not differ essentially from *Laos*. The *Tho* people of Tongking pronounce vowels and diphthongs as do the *Lü*, and their vocabulary is not very different. I made a vocabulary of four hundred common words, and found only

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE Miao

Shan - Thai AL3
Chung - chia

sixty-seven, or one in six, which cannot readily be identified with anything in the Chieng-mai dialect, but many more differ sufficiently to make them difficult to catch in conversation. Fully two-thirds of the words, however, in common speech are the same, having only slight differences in tone and pronunciation. /197

"Third: The country speech in and near Lungchow in Kwangsi is the same as the *Tho*, and the people are generally called *Tho* or *Tai-lô*. There is, however, a large admixture of Cantonese and Mandarin in their words, and I found some difficulty in making them understand me. *Nawng* and *Lawng* are other terms used for these people; the latter to the south are said to differ little.

"Fourth: At Nanning (south Kwangsi) I first came in touch with the *Chawng*. These people are found south of Nanning all along the French border, and appear to be the same as are found north of Wuchow (Kwangsi). I did not see enough of them to be able to express very definitely any opinion about their language, save that it is *Tai*, and in general character the same as the *Tho*. They seem to occupy a very large area across the north of Kwangsi, from Kweilin and Pinglo to Szecheng. They are also to be found in the south, and I have reports 197 161

Shan - Thai AL3
Chung - chia

197 101 of them at various points between, as forming the bulk of the population."

Mr. Freeman then mentions the large number of these people found in the provinces of Yunnan and Kweichow, and referring to a list of *Chung-chia* words as spoken around Kweiyangfu, given in an appendix to *The Chinese Empire,*[1] he says: "I have seen *The Chinese Empire,* and there is no question that the people (*i.e.* the *Chung-chia*) both in Kweichow and Kwangsi are *Tai*. It is difficult to tell how closely related they are to our people in Siam." He also refers to the *Li-mu* the aborigines of Hainan, mentioned in Chapter II., whom he calls *Loi,* and says they have many words like the *Tai*; but as he had not seen them, he does not venture any opinion about them. Some of the *Li-mu* or *Loi* are also found in the adjoining peninsula of Luichow in Kwangtung.

000 We have quoted Mr. Freeman at considerable length. His notes are so valuable that we are sure they will be appreciated by students and all who are interested in the ethnology of southeastern Asia. We shall now deal with that

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[1] *The Chinese Empire.* A General and Missionary Survey. Edited by Marshall Broomhall. Published by China Inland Mission, and Morgan & Scott, Ltd., 1907. 7s. 6d. net.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao

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Chung-chia

portion of the Tai or Shan race which is to be found in the province of Kweichow. 000

Some of these people drifted into Kweichow from the west one thousand years ago. There are now probably about two millions of them to be found, chiefly in the centre, south, and south-west of the province. They are commonly called *T'u-ren* or *T'u-chia* by the Chinese, which means "Indigenes" or "Natives," whereas the Chinese when speaking of themselves invariably use the term *K'eh-chia*, or "Immigrants." This proves that some of these people, at least, were in these regions when they were first colonised by the Chinese. There is, we think, at any rate at the present time, more similarity between them and the Chinese than between the Chinese and Miao. They are sometimes called *Chung-chia* around Kweiyang, *Yü-chia* about Anshunfu, and *Shui-chia* about Tushan, but the term *T'u-chia* is always understood and embraces them all. /01

The term *Chung-chia* is Chinese. *Chung* possibly means the second of three brothers; *Chia*, as we have already explained, means "Family" or "Tribe," and the term may be used to convey the idea that they are inferior to the Chinese and superior to the Miao. Another explanation is that *Chung-chia* means

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan - Thai AL3
Chung - chia

/01 heavy armour, and refers to the sort of armour used by them in ancient times. But etymological explanations are not always satisfactory; especially in Chinese, where so many words of vastly different meaning have the same, or very nearly the same, sound. Around Kweiyang and, we believe, elsewhere in the province they call themselves *Bu yuei*. *Bu* is a personal prefix, but what *yuei* means we are not able to say.

361 As we have mentioned elsewhere, the Chinese are most numerous in the cities and near the great high-roads of the province, and the various tribes-people in more out-of-the-way districts. Within ten miles of Kweiyang, the provincial capital, are some of the Miao, and probably two hundred villages and hamlets of the Chung-chia, some of them containing as many as two hundred families. Ten years ago Mr. Edgar Betts travelled across country from Tushan to Singyifu, a journey of seven days, nearly two hundred miles as the crow flies, through a region [609] entirely occupied by the Chung-chia. There were no high-roads and no inns; the people for the most part were well-to-do, and readily offered him hospitality at the end of each day's /77 journey. It is said that the inhabitants of Tushan city are mostly Chung-chia, or Shui-chia,

Shan - Thai AL5
Chung-chia

as they are called there, and many of them admit that this is so. Some of them[1] engage in trade and settle in Chinese cities and towns, and if they remain there, as many of them do, they bind the feet of their girls and are reckoned as Chinese. The Chinese do not despise the Chung-chia as they do the Miao. Miao rebellions and uprisings are not infrequent, but we never heard of a Chung-chia rebellion. We know a Chung-chia man, living near Kweiyang, who nearly fifty years ago, when only eight years old, was carried off by a party of Miao rebels and taken to Hwangchow among the Heh Miao. He stayed with them till he was eighteen and then ran away home. He told me they did not treat him unkindly. 177 [463] [304]

Wherever the Chung-chia are found in Kweichow, and we believe also in some parts of Kwangsi, they invariably assert that their ancestors were Chinese who came from the province of Kiangsi, and many of them name the prefecture and county from which their forefathers came. But it must be borne in mind that these people speak a language which is not a dialect of the Chinese, but resembles the speech of the Shans and Siamese, and, for the identification of scattered tribes, there is no more trustworthy guide than a comparison of 177 197

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[1] [i.e., inhabitants of Tushan city.--Analyst]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

177 vocabularies. Most of the men, however, and
197 some of the women can also speak Chinese. It
[191] may interest, and possibly encourage, students
of Chinese to know that many of the Chung-chia in speaking Chinese leave out all the aspirates; and yet the Chinese seem to understand them! We have heard them say, and we think the statement is true, that out of every three words they utter when speaking their own language, one is Chinese.

177 But how does it happen that these people, who speak another tongue, claim to be Chinese when they are not, or for the most part are not, Chinese? This, we think, is not very difficult to explain. When they entered Kweichow the Miao were there before them. They probably looked down on the Miao then, as they do now, especially as the Heh Miao, who are in almost every way their equals, had at that time not reached those parts. Before the Chinese really occupied the province and systematically colonised it, there had been frequent wars and military demonstrations against the turbulent Miao. There were also on these occasions garrisons left in different parts of the country. Some of these soldiers took native women as wives, and formed separate communities, and are now called the "Old Chinese." Others of

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan - Thai AL3
Chung - chia

them, or the children of these garrison soldiers, married into Chung-chia families. This marrying into Chung-chia families probably went on for a long period, so that in course of time many of them were really descended from the Chinese, and others were related to them by marriage. If any man traces his own ancestry back, say for half a dozen generations, he reaches a point of time when he has a large and varied assortment of ancestors, among whom he may select his extraction. This is emphatically true of Kweichow, where most of the Chung-chia now in the province have more or less Chinese blood in their veins. As the Chinese are the superior and ruling race, it is natural that as many as can claim to be related to them should do so, and this they are the more likely to do so as not to be regarded as Miao.

When two or three hundred years ago Chinese immigrants from Kiangsi entered the province in large numbers, and more men than women, doubtless many more of them married into Chung-chia families. The relations already existing between the Chung-chia and the earlier settlers would make it more easy and natural for the later settlers to ally themselves with Chung-chia families. It is to be noted that

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

177 the Chinese words which the Chung-chia have adopted into their own language are not pronounced as the Chinese now around them—who are mostly from Szechwan and Hunan—pronounce them, but as they are pronounced in Kiangsi and the lower regions of the Yangtze River.

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291 The Chung-chia men can hardly be distinguished from the Chinese. Perhaps their noses are more flat and their eyebrows more bushy than among the typical Chinese, and the same may be said of the women. As most of them are agriculturalists, the men dress exactly the same as Chinese farmers and village folk. [292] On special occasions, like the Chinese country-people, they wear the jacket and long robe. Many of them compete at the civil and military examinations, and some of them have risen to high rank in the Imperial Service. The late Chen Kung-pao, Viceroy of Yunnan and Kweichow, was of this race.

[304]
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177 Like the women among the Miao, the Chung-chia women do not bind their feet. Their old tribal or native costume is a rather tight-fitting jacket, and a skirt very like the skirt worn by Miao women, but longer than some of the Miao skirts. This costume is still common in some parts, but around Kweiyang the Chinese fashion

Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

for women of wearing loose jacket and trousers 291
is evidently taking the place of the old style, 177
especially among the younger women. Owing
to their natural and more useful feet, they do 462
more work in the fields than Chinese women.
We cannot remember ever to have seen a Chinese
woman planting rice in a paddy field, but we
have often seen Miao and Chung-chia women
going into the field alongside of the men and
planting rice.

Although called by different names in various 101
parts of the province, they are not divided into 197
tribes like the Miao. About Anshunfu they are
divided into two sorts: the *Pu-la-tsï*, who are
dwellers in the plain; and the *Pu-lung-tsï*, who
take their name from a powerful chief of former
times named Lung. Their dialect varies in
different parts, but not so much as to make
them unintelligible to one another, as is the
case among the Miao. We once had a servant,
for two or three years, whom we took to be a
Kwangsi Chinese, but talking to him one day
about his native dialect, we found he was of
the same race as the Chung-chia and could
understand their speech.

We have not been able thus far to discover 173
among them any old legends handed down from
former times. If they ever possessed such

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao

Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

173 legends, their wish to be thought Chinese, and the claim that their ancestors were Chinese from Kiangsi, is a potential reason why such legends should be neglected, and in course of time forgotten. Possibly elsewhere others may be more successful in the search for legends than we have been.

2/2 [533] They have no written language of their own, but like the Miao do all their writing in Chinese. They have many simple love ditties which the young men and maidens sing to each other, and herein they are more like the Miao than the Chinese. We have seen some of these ditties written down in Chinese characters. Sometimes the character represents the sound of the Chung-chia word with more or less accuracy, and sometimes the meaning, which makes it very difficult for one who does not know the ditties to decipher.

771 As they claim to be Chinese, they do, or profess to do, as the Chinese do in religious matters; but they are certainly not so moral or so religious as the Chinese. Many of them have in their homes the same Heaven and Earth Tablet of five characters as the Chinese. There are sometimes little shrines just outside their villages, in which may be images or simply stones to represent local deities; but they do

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao

Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

not build temples in their villages as the Chinese 771
do, nor do they, as a rule, invite Buddhist priests.
They are, we think, more Taoist than Buddhist,
but they have notions and practices which are
neither Taoist nor Buddhist. Some of them 776
about Anshunfu seem to believe in two deities,
a Good and an Evil one. The Good Being they
call *Tui-hsien*, and say he lives in heaven, that
he sends the rain and sunshine, and all good
things come from him. This is all they know
about him, and they neither offer sacrifices to
him nor worship him. On the other hand,
they are very much afraid of the Evil Being,
and do all they know, or think they know, to
appease him, by offerings and ceremonies which
are generally performed in front of what they
call "Spirit trees," that is, trees which from
their great age, or for some other reason, are
supposed to be intelligent and to have some sort
of spiritual influence.

Their burial customs about Kweiyang are [764]
much the same as among the Chinese, but some 769
of their sacrifices to the dead are not the same. 782
The following is a description of the sacrifice of
a bull, on behalf of a man recently dead, witnessed
by my wife at Suei-ngan-pa, about five miles
from Kweiyang:—

"In the yard of one of the houses a number

Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

[292] 769 782 of people had assembled. Most of the men wore a strip of white calico across the middle of the cap. A procession was formed and they all moved out of the yard. First came a man like a Taoist priest, accompanied by the chief mourner dressed in white, with a stick in his hand, inside of which there was said to be silver. This chief mourner walked bending forward and pointing the stick towards the ground. Next came a young red bull led by a new straw rope. Then followed a riderless horse with the dead man's cap fastened on the saddle; there were also a fan, a spectacle case, a pair of boots, and a bottle of whisky hanging from the sides of the saddle.

[292] "Following these came about eight women with white jackets and long white hoods, the back of some of the hoods almost reaching to the ground. They all had shoes and stockings such as men wear, and pleated skirts of green, blue, black, and grey. Each woman had an attendant carrying an umbrella over her head. The procession, led by a band of half a dozen musicians, who were blowing their trumpets all the time, passed out of the village into a ploughed field of unbroken clods. A new staff, with a paper streamer floating from the top, had been planted in the middle of the field, with an

Shan - Thai AL3
Chung - Chia

upright spear and some matting tied round the foot of it. It was very hard moving over the rough clods, but the procession moved round the flagstaff three or four times. The bull was dragged along by the side of the procession, its pace hastened by the letting off of crackers between its feet. After tying the bull to the staff, all those present took up a position on one side of the field and prayers were chanted for a long time. Two trays containing meat and vegetables and pots of whisky were then brought forward, and after being offered to the dead, some of the food was eaten by the women.

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"After a long pause, a man mounted on the back of the bull and pulled a string hanging from the flagstaff, which let off bundles of crackers, and these went off one after another, many of them exploding in the face and about the head and feet and all around the bull. While the crackers were going off the procession moved round and round the staff, and, when the crackers were exhausted, left the ground and returned to the house, leaving the bull standing uninjured in the field. We were told that any one who had the courage to do so might approach the bull at dusk and despatch it. None of the family or kinsfolk of the

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

769 782 deceased may eat any of the flesh of the bull, but acquaintances and others of the villagers might cut off and carry away what they pleased."

They seem to have no definite opinion as to how the dead are benefited by these offerings. Some of them say that in some way the bull, after it is killed, makes a hole in heaven so that the soul of the deceased may get in. They say also it is their custom to do these things; if they make these offerings it is better for the dead, whereas if they failed to do so the spirits of their ancestors would return and make no end of trouble for them. Fear, we think, is the chief motive in these sacrificial observances.

755 [771] We have said that the Chung-chia are more Taoists than Buddhists, and for this reason, Taoism, at the present time in China, is chiefly concerned with demons and malicious spiritual influences. Many of the Chinese, when there is sickness or misfortune in the family, or when their luck is bad, put it down to evil spirits and send for a Taoist priest, who by incantations, charms, and other performances drives away the pestilent demons, and counteracts their evil influences. In the same circumstances, Miao, Chung-chia, and No-su send for

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao

Shan - Thai AL3
Chung - chia

their local wizards or exorcists, who profess to 755 be able to deliver them from these persecuting demons in much the same way. Animism is, we think, the ancient and indigenous religion of the Chinese, as it is the religion of all the non-Chinese races of Kweichow. For all of them the spirit world is not far off, and is peopled by unseen intelligences whose constant interference in human affairs is not to the advantage of those concerned.

We do not think the claim of the Chung-chia 000 to be Chinese has done them any good. They appear to have all the defects of the Chinese and none of their better qualities. Among the Chinese are good, bad, and indifferent; among the Chung-chia some are bad, and the others perhaps not so bad. The Chinese generally 685 describe the Miao as turbulent, simple, and without proper notions of propriety; while they describe the Chung-chia as crafty, lying, and dishonest. This description would do for some of the Chinese themselves, but not for all. The Chinese say that every Chung-chia is a thief, and from what we know of them we should not feel justified in denying the charge. The thieves and robbers among the Miao prey upon travellers and distant hamlets, but the dishonest among the Chung-chia are sneak

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

685 thieves who prowl around, especially at night, and pilfer from their friends and neighbours.

Living in the Miao villages, it is evident that the villagers trust one another, and will sometimes say to us when we appear overcareful about our belongings, "Don't be afraid, there are no thieves in this village." It is not so among the Chung-chia. We remember once riding into a Chung-chia village, and were almost deafened by twenty or thirty dogs who followed us, all barking at the top of their voices. When we had dismounted and entered the house in which we were to pass the night, I said to our host, "Well, we need have no fear of thieves in this village." "Ah!" he replied, "but we do fear them very much." "But," I said, "no thief could get near the place, the dogs make such a noise they would rouse every family in the village." Our host smiled and said, "If a thief comes he will not be a stranger, but a neighbour whom the dogs know very well and so will not bark at him. When anything is stolen during the night, the thief is sure to be a neighbour who sat round the fire, smoking and chatting and patting the dog during the evening."

212
[871] There are more schools in Chung-chia villages than among the Miao, and consequently more of them can read and write.

Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

of them can read and write. We have heard it 212
said, and probably with a good deal of truth,
that when a Chung-chia can read and write he 212
gives up working, to live by his wits. This is 463
by no means a difficult way of making a living
in China. Learning how to write pleas and
counter-pleas, and methods of legal procedure,
he is constantly in and about the Yamens,
assisting in law cases, making profit for himself
out of other people's difficulties, and continually,
for obvious reasons, stirring up trouble among
neighbours. Such men are a great nuisance all
over China, and not least in out-of-the-way
places.

The Chung-chia districts and communities 621
are ruled just the same as the rural Chinese.
The headmen or local justices are generally well-to-do Chung-chia, and many disputes are settled
without appealing to the Chinese magistrate.
But, like the Miao, the Chung-chia are very
litigious, and spend a good deal of their time
and money in Chinese courts. The power
exercised by local justices is very indefinite, so
that one is sometimes surprised at their helplessness, and at other times amazed at the extra-ordinary power they seem to have. A leading 621
Chinese Justice of the Peace once asked me 685
what we did in our country to men who stole

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao

Shan - Thai AL3
Chung - chia

621 other people's crops. I replied that if the thief
685 were caught, and the charge proved, he would be put in prison for some time. "Ah," he said, "when I catch them I have them strangled; it's the best way to do with such people."

About four years ago, in a Chung-chia village some three miles from Kweiyang, there was a well-known thief who was always stealing from his kinsfolk and neighbours. This at length so exasperated the villagers that they took the man, and in the presence of two local justices deliberated as to what was to be done with him. They decided that he was a man who could very well be spared, and with the consent of his parents, having bound him hand and foot, they threw him into a pond and drowned him. Subsequently some members of the culprit's family accused the two justices in the Prefect's Yamen of murdering the man. The justices were apprehended and kept in prison for several months, and only came out after they had been squeezed of about two hundred Mexican dollars. We know of an exactly similar case in a Chinese village, where the local headmen also drowned a man and that was an end of the matter. Possibly in the latter case there was no one in the village who had a grudge against the headmen, or who had any interest in bringing the

Shan-Thai- AL3
Chung-chia

Yamen underlings on the scene; or possibly 621
the headmen had friends in the Yamen who 685
would have barred any proceedings against them. The magistrate and the Yamen staff are ostensibly for the collection of taxes and the administration of justice; actually they do collect the taxes, but also extort all the money they can from the people by what is called the administration of justice. Some of the taxes collected go into the Imperial exchequer, but all the money they get from litigation goes into the pockets of the magistrate, his secretaries, or his underlings.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

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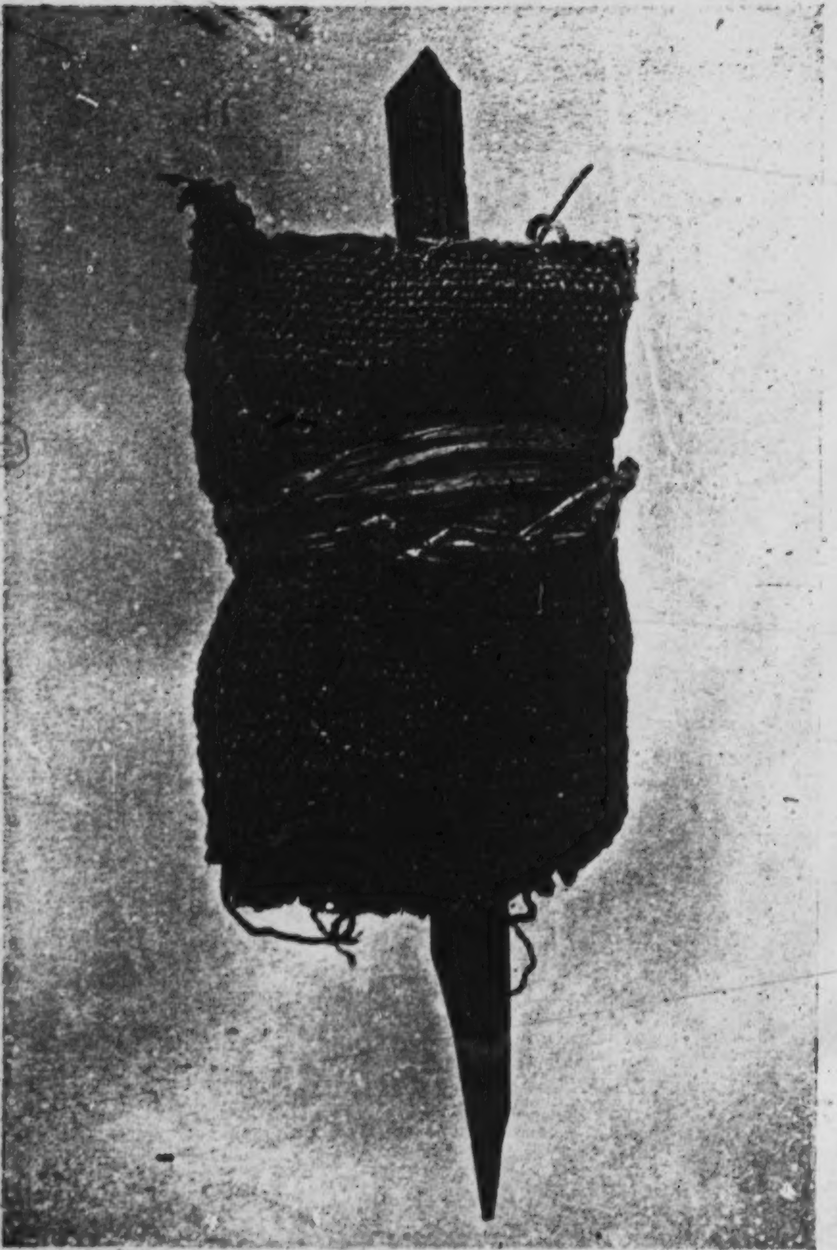

A No-su (Lo-lo) Spirit Hamper.

It is supposed to contain the spirit of a deceased person.

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To face page 112.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

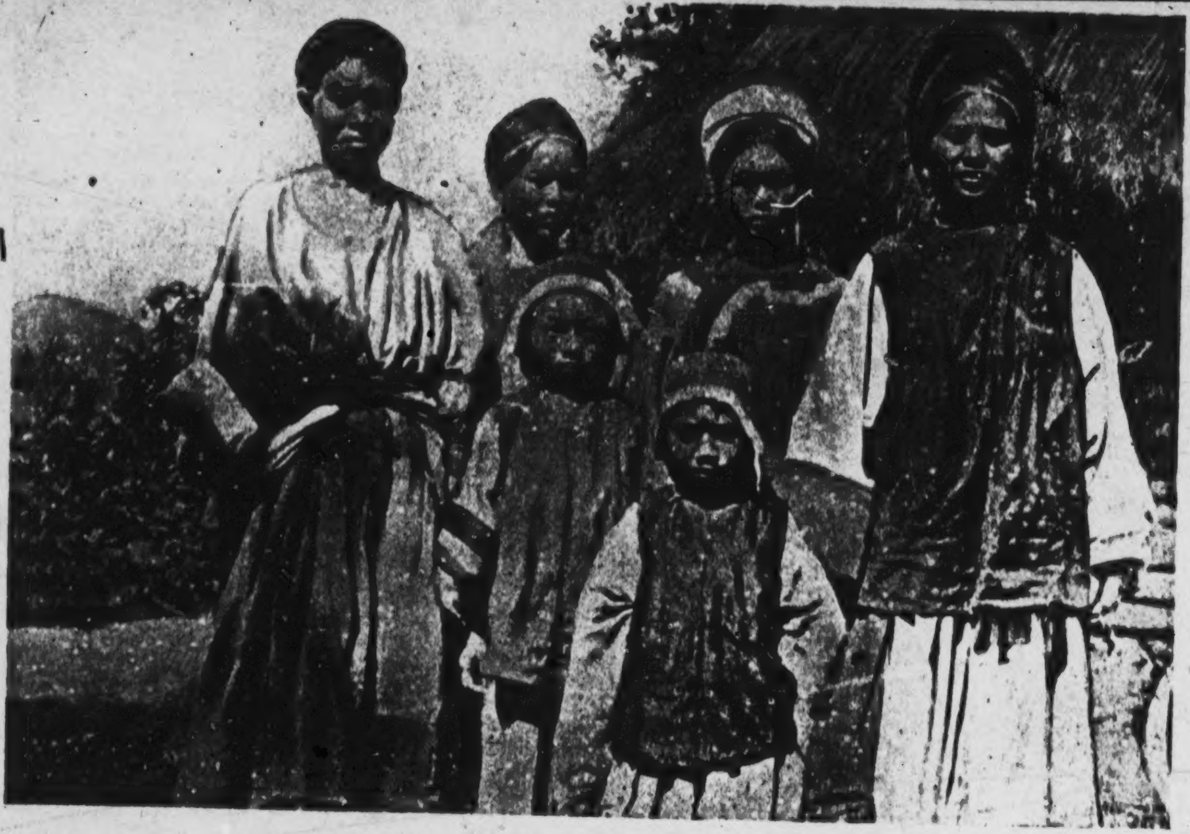
CHAPTER VI

THE LO-LO OR NO-SU

The Lo-lo or No-su—Other names for them—Divided into Black and White—Rev. C. E. Hicks's article—Their arrival in Chaotung district—The independent Lo-lo—Mr. C. Baber's story—The Hsi-fan—The No-su of Chaotung and Weining—A decadent race—The feudal system—The Miao tenants—Religious ideas—Legends—The Flood—Marriage customs—Demonolatry—Burial customs—Slaves.

101
769 THERE can be no doubt that the Miao entered Kweichow from the east, the Chung-chia from the west, and Lo-lo from the north-west. The term Lo-lo is a name used for them by the Chinese, because they keep, or believe they keep, the souls of their parents in a miniature basket or hamper, just as the Chinese believe they have the souls of their ancestors in ancestral tablets. The Chinese word for such a basket is *lo-lo*, and hence the name by which these people are gener-
769 ally known to foreigners. This miniature *lo-lo* is about four inches deep and six inches in circumference, made of split bamboo, commonly

[Facing p. 113]



A GROUP OF NO-SU (LO-LO) WOMEN.

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769 wrapped round with a piece of calico, coarse as canvas, which is often the colour of a cocoanut from smoke and age. This *lo-lo* contains one or two bamboo tubes two or three inches long, about as thick as a man's little finger, and in the tube are fastened a bit of grass and a piece of sheep's wool. There is also a piece of bamboo six or seven inches long, like a thick pointed skewer, which goes through the *lo-lo*, and is doubtless used to fix it in its place. This *lo-lo* is sometimes kept in the house, sometimes placed in a tree, and sometimes hidden in a rock.

101 The Chinese also call them I-chia and I-pien, and these are the names mostly used in Kweichow. The word *I*, among many other things, means "remote," "foreign," and has the notion of barbarian in it. The word *pien* means "side," "place," "boundary." They call themselves *No-su*, and by this name we shall hereafter mostly speak of them.[1] What the two
564 words mean we are not able to say. They are divided into two classes, the Black and the White. The Black are the patricians or landholders; the White are the plebeians, the tenants and serfs, often the slaves, of the patricians. In Szechwan they speak of them as "Black bones"

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[1] The term *Lo-lo* they themselves regard as derogatory, and it is to them offensive.

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564 and "White bones," but we never heard those terms used in Kweichow.

427 161 Although the Black No-su own so much of the land in north-west Kweichow and north-east of Yunnan, the No-su are not numerous. They are evidently a vanishing race, at any rate in Kweichow and around Chaotung. It is, we imagine, because of their diminishing numbers that they have taken so many of the Miao as tenants, who now greatly outnumber them.

A very interesting article on the No-su appeared in the March number of the *Chinese Recorder* for 1910, written by the Rev. C. E. Hicks of the United Methodist Mission, Chaotung, Yunnan. With Mr. Hicks's kind permission we make ample use of that article, and of a letter he has written us, in attempting to describe these people to our readers.

173 The No-su are not the original inhabitants of the Chaotung district and the adjoining parts of Kweichow. According to their own tradition, they came from Tibet, and it is worthy of note, as confirmation of this, that some of the No-su race are to be found all the way from the borders of Tibet to Chaotung. They say their ancestors were two brothers, Wu-sa and Wu-meng, who, like Esau and Jacob, struggled together in the womb of their mother; hence,

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173 say the No-su of the present time, the wildness of our hearts and our fondness for fighting.

Coming to the Chaotung Plain, they found a people already in possession of the land, whom they called the *P'u,* and whom the Chinese to-day speak of as the *Yao-ren.* This is the same name, and the Chinese use the same character for it as for the Yao-ren about Nien Chow in Kwangtung Province, mentioned in Chapter II. Possibly they are the same tribe. As we have already explained, the word *Yao* means " dog " or " jackal." This is a term that the Chinese would naturally apply to a people they regard as much inferior to themselves, and might apply it to very different races. It seems almost impossible now to discover who the Yao-ren, who preceded the No-su around Chaotung, really were. Chinese tradition in that district says they inhabited the plain many centuries ago, when it was covered with forests, and that their houses were like huge burrows in the hill-sides. The No-su say the Yao-ren moved to Szechwan, but the Chinese say they moved to Kwangtung. It may be the Chinese say they moved to Kwangtung because they know there are people now in that province known by that
172 name. The only vestige of the Yao race now remaining are the mounds of earth which are

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172 conspicuous on the plain. Some of these mounds have been opened, and in them have been found rough unhewn stones and burnt bricks of an unusually large size, marked with a peculiar pattern. Both Chinese and No-su are agreed that the Yao-ren were not Miao.

721 The ramifications of the race to which the No-su belong are most intricate, and the many names by which they are known are very puzzling. In Szechwan Province, north of the Yangtze River, and west of Suifu and Kiatingfu, is a large tract of country occupied by independent Lo-lo. This is sometimes called the Pa-pu country. There are chronic hostilities between them and the Chinese, from which the latter suffer most. They are constantly raiding Chinese territory and murdering as many as they can catch, or carrying them off to be held as slaves for ransom. They treat their captives most cruelly, and the Chinese show no mercy to them when they are able to retaliate.

212 In 1878, Mr. Colbourne Baber, British Resident at Chungking, travelled on the borders of the independent Lo-lo territory, but was not able to enter it. All around the border are some "tame" Lo-los dwelling among the Chinese, and Mr. Baber made the acquaintance of some of them. One of them gave him some pages of

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Lo-lo characters, but could not read or interpret 212
them. They were evidently ideographs, and suggested a clumsy attempt to imitate Chinese characters. This Lo-lo writing, and an account of Mr. Baber's journey, were published by the Royal Geographical Society of London in the same or following year; but is now out of print.[1]

Mr. Baber used to tell one story of his journey 721
in that region which is amusing and worth repeating. He had put up one night in a Chinese stockaded village of between one and two hundred families, close to the border of the Lo-lo territory. He was lodged in a loft where he noticed a large heap of stone in one corner. A few days previously the village had been entered by a party of about thirty Lo-lo and the custom-house pillaged. Mr. Baber asked his host why the stones were placed on the loft, and the man explained they were there ready to be thrown at the Lo-lo if they should come; but he added, "The Lo-lo can throw farther and aim better than we can." "Do you not think," said Mr. Baber, "it was a shameful thing for thirty Lo-lo to enter a place like this, where there are so many men, and pillage the custom-house?" "Of course," replied his host, "it was a

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[1] See *Special Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. i.

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721 shameful thing, but you can't expect a Lo-lo to have any sense of shame!"

Two years after Mr. Baber's journey my colleague (Mr. J. H. Riley) and I travelled in that region, but were not able to get into the independent territory. If we had insisted on going in, the Chinese authorities would either have prevented us by force, or sent such a large escort with us that we should have appeared as a military expedition. I remember one day going three days west of Pingshan, along the left bank of the Yangtze River, past the last navigable point; I got ahead of our party and came to a house by the wayside, and after talking to the man, who was Chinese, for a while, I asked him if there were any Lo-lo about, but he did not know what I meant. Then I used every term I could think of, "barbarians," "savages," "wild men," to try and convey my meaning, but he could not understand what I was trying to get at. At length our Lo-lo companion, who could talk Chinese, came up, and I set him to inquire if there were any Lo-lo in the neighbourhood. He also for a time tried in vain to make the man understand, using all sorts of terms. At last he used a term which probably he knew from the first would be best understood, and said, "Are there any sons of dogs about here?" At once

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the man understood, and replied, "Oh yes! there are some; you will see them when you get to Huang-lan-so." 721

Even to the present time these independent Lo-lo are still plundering the Chinese, and carrying them away to be used as slaves. Two or three years ago a British photographer eluded the watchfulness of the Chinese and got into that region. He was murdered, and only one of his coolies, who had been left for dead, came back to tell the story.

The Hsi-fan, who are found in so many parts of Szechwan and Yunnan, are evidently, from a comparison of their language, a branch of the Lo-lo or No-su race. In Wuting, north of Yunnanfu, and on to the River of Golden Sand, these people are to be found, and all over northern Yunnan. North of Wuting they are known as the Li-su, the La-ka, and the Kang-i. These are all No-su, though by intermarriage with other races in various districts their dialects and their customs may be somewhat modified. Who the Man-tsï are, who are found in so many parts of Szechwan and Yunnan, we cannot say, as we never met any of them, but we should not be surprised to find they were allied to the No-su. Or are they akin to the Yao-ren mentioned above? The word *Man*

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600 means "barbarian," and might be applied to any non-Chinese race. As we have mentioned in the first chapter, the Miao were once known as the Southern Man.

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622 So much about the No-su race in general. There is much more to be said about them, but we are not able to say it. We shall now relate what we know of interest about the people of that race who are to be found around Chaotung and in the Weining district. The first No-su chieftain to arrive about Chaotung was Yen Tsang-fu. He was a very cruel tyrant, punishing offences in a most rigorous manner. It was a common practice with him to gouge out the eyes of those who disobeyed his commands, and no matter how nearly related to himself the offender might be, there was no mitigation of the punishment. These chieftains, or territorial magnates, are called *T'u-mu* by the Chinese and *T'u-sï* in parts farther west. Their own designation for themselves is a term equivalent to the Chinese *Kuan yüen*, which means "magistrate" or "officer." These *T'u-mu*, or perhaps lairds would be the best term to use for them, have in many cases enriched themselves by claiming to be the owners of land occupied by weaker men, and by appropriating the estates of families which have become extinct.

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Perhaps the saddest fact about the No-su is 161
the rapidity with which they are dying out at 578
the present time in the north-west of Kweichow 181
and north-east of Yunnan. The unsanitary conditions in which they live—the water they drink is often drawn from stagnant pools fouled by sheep and cattle—and their riotous indulgence in whisky, opium, and other vices, sufficiently account for this. Such decadence of the race has given the strong an opportunity of enriching themselves at the expense of the weak, so that quarrelling and fighting about the division of land is always going on. They are burdened with the thought that their doom as a race is sealed. Some of them gather a little consolation from the coming of Christianity, and hope that it means the arrest of their decline. It may be, however, that the missionaries have arrived too late, for when deterioration of that sort sets in among any race it is difficult to arrest it.

When the Manchus came to China the No-su 175
were practically independent, and the city of Chaotung did not then exist. The Manchus brought Yunnan and Kweichow under effective Imperial control. The campaign against the No-su of Chaotung and Weining was successful, and these were brought under Chinese rule.

175 622 The Chinese, however, did not interfere between the lairds and their tenants, and left things very much as they were. As long as the lairds pay taxes, recognise the sovereignty of China, and make no serious trouble, they are let alone. When the laird is a strong, just man, the present system works well; but when he is a cruel tyrant, as many of them are, holding practically the power of life and death over his retainers and tenants, cruel things are very often done in those regions.

691 622 661 It is seldom that the tenants of these lairds are engaged in litigation before the Chinese magistrates, as their landlords settle all disputes for them which they cannot settle among themselves. This is doubtless a very good thing for the tenants, even though the laird may often be unjust in his decisions. The lairds themselves, however, are constantly at law with one another in the Chinese courts, and this is an opportunity for the magistrates to enrich themselves. The lairds are generally represented in these actions by their Chinese agents. It is said that very few of them dare enter a Chinese city because of the many serious and even capital charges laid against them in the Yamens. If they did enter the city of their district, they might be apprehended, and in that case mercilessly squeezed.

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Last year a laird was executed at Suei-ts'en in Kweichow, but he must have been a small one. 691 661

Thus there exists in north-western Kweichow and north-eastern Yunnan what is actually the feudal system. Many of the lairds own vast estates, as large as an English county, and all the people on the estate are their tenants. The lairds are all of them Black No-su, and the White No-su are their serfs or slaves. These lairds are nearly all related to one another, as they constantly intermarry for the sake of joining and enlarging their estates. A No-su heiress is always pestered and sometimes actually besieged by suitors. A laird always marries the daughter of some other laird, and as there is but a limited number of them, this constant intermarriage has doubtless contributed to the decadence of the race and to the frequency of lunacy among them. They may, and often do, have Chinese and Miao women as concubines. 564 427 581

The Miao tenants, who greatly outnumber the No-su tenants, are not slaves, but practically serfs. The soil is very poor, and any Miao, if he fancied a piece of unoccupied land, might build his hovel there and cultivate some of it. The lairds are glad to have them as tenants; the rent they pay is mostly in kind, and not by any means high. As a matter of fact, the tenants, 427

As a matter of fact, the tenants,
427 for the sake of mutual protection, group themselves in hamlets and villages. Besides the nominal rent they pay, the laird has the right to make levies on them on special occasions, such as funerals, weddings, and when he has litigation in the Chinese courts. Each of the tenants also owes the laird so many days' labour during the year with his cattle, and this he pays in cultivating the land which the laird actually farms, and in gathering his crops. When the landlord has a dispute with another laird, his tenants are expected to follow him to the field if it comes to fighting, and to defend his residence if it is attacked.

427 These tenants, No-su and Miao, are very
511 poor, but, as far as I was able to judge, their
262 condition is not intolerable. Certainly they
342 appear to be better off than the peasantry were in France two hundred years ago, and than most of the peasantry are in Russia to-day. They live principally on maize, buckwheat, and oatmeal; their hovels are nearly always made of mud,
231 and badly thatched with straw. Many families have a pony, and all of them two or three cows, a few pigs, half a dozen or a dozen sheep and goats, and some fowls. The oxen are used for ploughing. Like the Chinese, they never milk their cattle and goats, and never use milk, butter,

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or cheese. This, we think, is a great pity as 231
there is plenty of unoccupied land, such as it is, which they can use as pasturage for their cattle. The children drive the cattle and sheep out to pasture on the hill-sides early in the morning, and stay to mind them till the time for the morning meal, when they drive them home again. During the middle of the day the cattle are penned up in the hovel, and let out to pasture during the afternoon, and driven home again as it is getting dark. There is plenty of 3/3
fuel about, and the tenants can go to the wood and bring home as much as they like. Moreover, there are no game laws.

There are wild beasts about, wolves, foxes, /36
leopards, wild boars, and even tigers; and 224
people, especially children, are not infrequently devoured by them. Some of the Miao are great hunters. They use spears, crossbows, and poisoned arrows. I think the poison they use is aconite. When they wound a leopard or tiger with their poisoned arrows, they allow the animal to get away, and later go after it. They generally find it dead or dying.

We have already mentioned Miao super- /77
stitions and legends, and here we shall only relate what we know of No-su religious beliefs and legends. These are the more difficult to learn

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177 because so many of their ancient customs have fallen into disuse during their intercourse with the Chinese. Most of the lairds have Chinese [875] teachers for their children, and many of them read Chinese. Some of them compete at the Chinese civil examinations, and a certain number of degrees are allotted to the No-su. All of them can speak Chinese.

788 776 After the ingathering of buckwheat, when the crop is stacked on the threshing floor and the work of threshing is about to begin, the simple formula "Thank you, *Je-so-mo*" is pronounced. *Je-so-mo* seems to be a spirit who controls the crops; whether good or evil is not easy to determine. *Mo* is a generic term for "sage" or 776 "spirit." *Je-so* is so like the name *Je-su*, which the Chinese and Miao use for Jesus, that some of the No-su wished to use *Je-so* for the name of our Saviour; but to this the missionaries very wisely did not consent, as they did not know who, or what sort of a person, *Je-so-mo* was. *Je-so-mo* is not God, for when the No-su wish to speak of God they use the word *Se*, which means "Master" or "Lord." In the independent No-su territory, north of the Yangtze River in Szechwan, the term used for God is *Eh-nia*, and one No-su, who has had much intercourse with the independent No-su, asserts that

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there are three names for God, each representing different functions, if not persons, in the Godhead. These names are *Eh-nia*, *Keh-neh*, and *Um-p'a-ma*. 776

The No-su practise ancestor worship. We have already mentioned the *lo-lo*, or little hampers, in which they think they have the souls of their parents, and from which the Chinese have called them Lo-lo. At the ceremony of the consecration of these *lo-lo* an exorcist attends, and a slave is set apart for the purpose of attending to all the rites connected with this worship of the deceased person. For persons who are short-lived the ancestor *lo-lo* is placed in a crevice of the wall of some forsaken and ruined building. Every three years the *lo-lo* is changed, and the old one burned. 769

Hill-worship is another important feature of No-su religious life. Houses are built at the foot of a hill, and sacrifices are regularly offered on the hill-side in the fourth month of each year. The exorcist determines which is the most propitious day, and the laird with his people proceed to the appointed place. A limestone rock, with an old tree trunk near, is chosen as an altar, and a sheep and pig are brought forward by the laird. The exorcist, having adjusted his clothes, sits cross-legged before the altar, and 796 782

796 782 begins intoning his incantations in a low muttering voice. The victims are then slain, the blood poured beneath the altar, and a handful of rice and a lump of salt are placed beneath the stone. Some person then gathers a handful of green grass, and the exorcist having finished intoning, the altar is covered and all return to the house. The exorcist twists the grass into a rope which he hangs over the doorway of the house. Then out of a piece of willow a small arrow is made, a bow of corresponding size is cut out of a peach tree, and these are placed on the door-posts. Out of a piece of soft white wood the figure of a man is carved, and this, with two sticks placed crosswise, is fastened to the rope hanging over the doorway, with two other sticks one on each side. The exorcist proceeds with his incantations, muttering, "From now henceforth and for ever will the evil spirits keep away from this house."

796 177 Most of the No-su at the present time observe the New Year festival, at the same time and with the same ceremonies as the Chinese. Formerly this was not so, and even now in the remoter districts some of them observe New Year's Day as the first day of the tenth moon of the Chinese year. A pig and sheep are killed, cleaned, and hung up in the house for three days. On the

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first day of the New Year they are taken down, 796 cut up, and cooked. The family sit on buckwheat 177 straw in the middle of the chief room of the house. The head of the house invites the others to drink whisky, and the feasting begins. Presently one will start singing, and all join in the song :

"How firm is this house of mine! throughout the year the hearth fire has not ceased to burn. My food corn is abundant; I have silver and also cash. My cattle have increased to herds, my horses and mules have all white foreheads, *K'o k'o ha ha ha ha k'o k'o.* My sons are filial, my wife is virtuous. In the midst of flesh and whisky we sleep. Our happiness reaches unto heaven. Truly glorious is this glad New Year."

Some of the No-su, but not all of them, have 773 a legend of the Creation, but all of them have a legend of the Flood. They manifestly trace their genealogy from Noah. They say a certain man had three sons. He received warning that a flood was to come upon the earth, and the family discussed how they should save themselves when this calamity came upon them. One suggested an iron cupboard, another a stone one, but the suggestion of the third that they should make a cupboard of wood and store it with food was acted upon. Thus the

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773 family was saved; but they say nothing about animals.

773 /173 The Miao of that region say that the land was all divided among the three sons of Noah, who were the ancestors of the Miao, Chinese, and No-su. The Miao are the descendants of the eldest son. Unfortunately when the land was divided, they only used straw ropes for boundaries, while the No-su used stones. A fire occurred which burnt up their boundary ropes, but left the No-su stones uninjured. Thus they lost their land!

584 In the olden times the No-su did not beg for and betroth a wife as they do now, but obtained their wives by main force. At the present time, while milder methods prevail, there are still survivals of the ancient custom. As a rule, the betrothal now takes place very early, sometimes in infancy, and at the ceremony a fowl is killed, each party taking a rib of it. When the young
585 people come to marriageable age, the final negotiations have to be concluded. These are purposely prolonged until the bridegroom, growing angry, gathers his friends and makes an attack on the maiden's home. Arming themselves with cudgels, and covering their heads and shoulders with their felt cloaks, they approach secretly and then rush towards the

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house. Strenuous efforts are made by the occupants to prevent their entering, and weighty blows are exchanged. When the attacking party has succeeded in gaining an entrance, peace is proclaimed, and whisky with large chunks of flesh are provided for their entertainment. Occasionally during these fights the maiden's home is quite dismantled. The negotiations being concluded, preparations are made for escorting the bride to her new home. Being heavily veiled, she is supported on horseback by her brothers, while her near relatives, all fully armed, attend her. On arriving at the bridegroom's house there is a scuffle. The veil is snatched from the bride's face by her kinsmen, who do their utmost to throw it on the roof, to signify that she will rule over the occupants when she enters. The bridegroom's people, on the contrary, do all they can to trample it down on the doorstep as an indication of the rigour with which the newcomer will be subjected to the ruling of the head of the house. Much blood is sometimes shed, and people are often seriously injured in these skirmishes.

The bride remains for three days in a temporary shelter before she is admitted into the house. A girl, having left her parents' home to become a wife, waits many years before she pays a return

585 visit. Anciently the shortest period was three years, but some allow ten or more years to elapse before the first visit home is paid. Two or three years are then often spent with the parents.

776 Like the Miao, and other races of China,
755 the No-su live in great fear of demons. They understand hardly anything about medicine, and so exorcists are in constant demand. What we have said of the Miao and their superstitions in reference to demons might be repeated almost word for word about the No-su. When it is known that disease has visited a neighbour's house, a pole seven feet long is erected in a conspicuous place in a thicket some distance from the house of any one who wishes to be safe. On the pole an old ploughshare is fixed, and it is supposed that when the spirit who controls the disease sees the ploughshare he will retire to a distance from these homesteads.

[164] There is a fever called *No-ma-tsï* which works
757 great havoc among the No-su every year. No person will stay by the sick-bed to nurse the unfortunate patient. Food and water are placed by the bedside, the sick one is covered with a quilt and left at the mercy of the disease. Since the patient will perspire as the fever progresses, heavy stones are placed upon the quilt that it may not be thrown off and the patient take

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cold. Many an unfortunate sufferer has through 757
this strange practice died from suffocation. After a time the relatives return to see what course the disease has taken. This fever seems to yield to quinine, for several persons to whom quinine was given recovered. It is probably a malignant form of malarial fever, and what the Chinese in Kweichow call *men pai tsï*.

When a man dies, his kinsfolk, as soon as they 764
receive the news, hold in their several homes a feast of mourning which they call *za*. A pig or sheep is sacrificed in the doorway, and it is supposed that intercourse is thus maintained between living persons and the spirit of the departed. The nearer kindred, on hearing of the death of a relative, take a fowl and strangle it, as the blood of it ought not to be shed. This fowl is cleaned and skewered, and the mourner then proceeds to the house where the deceased is lying, and sticks the fowl near the head of the corpse as an offering. The more distant relatives do not perform this rite, but each leads a sheep to the house of mourning, and a son of the deceased strikes each animal three times with a white wand, while the exorcist stands by and announces the sacrifice by naming the person who offers it.

Formerly the No-su burned their dead.

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764 Some years ago a No-su youth said to Mr. Hicks, "The thought of our friends' bodies either turning to corruption or being eaten by wild beasts is distasteful to us, and therefore we burn our dead." The corpse is burned with wood, and during the cremation the mourners arrange themselves around the fire, chanting and dancing. The ashes are buried and the ground levelled. The custom is still observed by the No-su in the independent Lo-lo territory. The No-su in Weining and Chaotung districts have adopted burial as the mode of disposing of their dead, and to the Chinese burial customs have added some of their own.

On the day of the funeral the horse which the deceased used to ride is brought to the door and saddled by the exorcist. The command is then given to lead the horse to the grave. All the mourners follow, and, marching or dancing in intertwining circles, cross and recross the path of the horse until the poor creature, bewildered and frantic with fear, rushes and kicks in a wild endeavour to escape from the confusion. The whole company thereupon raise a great shout, and say: "The soul has come to ride the horse! The soul has come to ride the horse!" A contest then follows among the women of the deceased man's household for the possession of the horse,

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which is henceforth regarded as of extreme value. 764

The Black No-su are not all of them territorial magnates, but we believe all the poorer ones farm their own land, and even these, as a rule, own a few slaves who do all the work for them. Some of the White No-su are free at the present time. The Black class assert that all the White were originally slaves, and that in the case of those who are now free, either they themselves or their parents escaped at some previous time from their masters. 564 566

The masters of these unfortunate slaves have absolute control over them, and manage all their affairs. The girl slaves he marries to other men's male slaves. The lot of these unfortunate people is hard beyond description. Being looked upon as of little more value than the cattle they tend, the food given to them is often inferior to the corn with which the master's horse is fed. The cruel beatings and torturings they have endured have completely broken their spirit, and now they seem unable to exist apart from their masters. Very seldom do any of them try to escape, for no one will give them shelter, and the punishment awarded to a recaptured slave is so severe as to intimidate the most daring. These poor creatures are born in slavery, married 566

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566 in slavery, and die in slavery. It is not uncommon
to meet Chinese slaves, boys and girls,
566 in No-su families. They have either been
563 kidnapped and sold, or their parents, unable to nourish them, have bartered them in exchange for food. Their purchasers marry them to White No-su, and their lot is cast among the slave class. The heart of the missionary is wrung with anguish sometimes as he thinks what cruelty and wretchedness exist among the hills and valleys of that benighted district. Even there, however, light is beginning to shine, for some adherents of the Christian religion have changed their slaves into tenants, thus showing the way to the solution of this difficult problem.

000APPENDICES

[p. 303]

000 "It appeared to the writer that, before these tribes could be scientifically assigned by ethnologists, they must be reduced to order amongst themselves, and that something might be done in that direction by taking upon this journey a short vocabulary, and obtaining its equivalent in the dialect of every tribe met, when a comparison would reveal affinities and differences."—Consul F. S. A. BOURNE.

[p.304]

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Lolo AE 4
Shan-Thai AL3

APPENDIX I

THE following lists of words will enable those who are interested in comparative philology to form some opinion of the languages spoken by the non-Chinese peoples of Kweichow Province.

M
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L
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Sh
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System of orthography used in writing down the following vocabularies :—

a like *a* in *father*.

e like *e* in *led*.

eh like *u* in *murder*.

ö like *eh* or like the same letter in German.

i like *ea* in *tea* ; when followed by a final consonant like *i* in *sit*.

o like *o* in *so* ; when followed by a final consonant like *o* in *hot*.

u like *oo* in *too* ; when followed by a final consonant like *u* in *sung*.

ï is hardly a vowel sound. Pronounce the English word *its* without the *i* and that is what *tsï* is like. Pronounce *its* without the *it* and that is what *sï* is like.

ai like *i* in *light*.

ao like *ou* in *loud*.

ei like *ai* in *laid*.

eo a blend of *e* and *o*.

aeo a blend of *a* and *eo*.

ua like *wa* in *waft*.

uei like the English *way*.

uo like *wa* in *war*.

b like *b* or *p* in English unaspirated.

d like *d* or *t* in English unaspirated.

f, *h*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *sh*, *v*, *y*, *w*, these are pronounced like the same letters in English.

Note.—‘ is the sign of an aspirate, thus f‘ is *f* aspirated.

c like a very hard sharp *k* ; there is something like a click in it in Miao.

ch like *ch* in *chin* aspirated.

g soft like *g* in *gin* unaspirated.

ģ hard like *g* in gate

nd nasal sound before *d*.

nt nasal sound before *t* aspirated.

mb sound of *m* before *b*.

mp sound of *m* before *p* aspirated.

ng like *ng* in *sing*. Also used as an initial sound.

ny like *n* before the *y* sound.

p like *p* in English aspirated.

t like *t* in English aspirated.

hk a strongly aspirated guttural.

ll like the Welsh *ll*.

bl, *br*, *dr*, *gl*, *kl*, *pl*, *pr*—these are pronounced the same as in English.

z a rough initial sound, not an aspirate ; it is indescribable, and must be heard to be appreciated.

The final consonants *m*, *p*, *t*, *k* are pronounced the same as in English, but much more lightly.

The *r* in Chung-chia has a suggestion of *th* in it. It is never trilled.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

Lolo AE4.

Shan-Thai AL3

M
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L
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Sh
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Note.—The Chinese given is the Chinese of Kweiyang, capital of Kweichow Province, and is written according to the system of orthography given above.

The Keh-lao are from Anshunfu.
The No-su or Lo-lo are from Anshunfu.
The Chung-chia are from Kweiyang.
The Heh Miao are from P'anghai Tsingpinghsien.
The Ya-chio Miao are from Tatang in Tingfanchow.
The Hua Miao are from Anshunfu.

[TABLE

Lolo AE4
Shan-Thai AL3

APPENDIX

English.	Chinese.	Keh-lao.	No-su or Lo-lo.	Kweichow Chung-chia.	Siamese.	Kwangsi Chung-chia.	Heh Miao.	Ya-ch'lo Miao.	Hua Miao.
one	i	si	dai	ndiao, yit	et	ndiu, yit	i	i	i
two	er	so	nyi	suong, nyi	song	ruong	au	o	ao
three	san	da	se	sam	sam	ram	ba, bie	bie	be
four	sï	bu	lli	si	si	rei, ri	llao	bleo	bleo
five	wu	mbu	ngwu	za	ha	ha	gia	bzĭ	bsĭ
six	lu	nang	chio	rok	hok	yok	dieo	dsŭ	dseo
seven	chi	shi	shi	dsat	c̣het	sat	shiung	sau	shiang
eight	ba	vleo	heh	bieh	bet	be, bet	ia	yi	yi
nine	gio	su	kö	ku	kao	giu	gio	gia	gia
ten	sï	beo	tsö	chip, ship	sib	ship	gieo	ku	ku
hundred	be	gin	hu	bak	...	bak	ba	ba	ba
thousand	chien	du	du	riang	...	shien	s·e	chie	tsai
myriad	uan	vang	mi	van	...	uan	vie	ua	vang
is	sí	dso	ngeo	shi, dai	...	shi	diau	ieh	iao
have	yu	ngen	dso	li	...	mei	mai	nieo	ma
this	dse ko	...	...	kai ni	...	kai ni	lai nung	du na	lo na
that	na ko	...	...	kai ndi	...	kai dei	lai ai	du ü	lo i
which?	na ko	...	...	kai laeo kai ma	...	kai ma kai re	lai dou, dai shi	de shi	giao a dsĭ
here	dse li	...	...	gi ni	...	gi ni	hang nung	cau na	cao na
there	na li	...	...	gi ndi	...	...	hang ai	cau ü	cao i
where?	na li	...	...	gi laeo	...	...	hang don	...	...
want	iao	mai	le	ao	ao	ao	eo	ia	ia
come	lai	mo	li	mai	mai	mai	lou	lu	lao

M 192
L 192
Sh 192

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
Lolo AE4
Shan-Thai AL3

M 192
L 192
Sh 192

English.	Chinese.	Keh-lao.	No-su or Lo-lo.	Kweichow Chung-chia.	Siamese.	Kwangsi Chung-chia.	Heh Miao.	Ya-ch'io Miao.	Hua Miao.
go	k'ü	vu	yö	bai	bai	bai	mung	ḿu	mu
make, do	dso	...	...	ko	...	ko	ai	a	a
look	k'an	...	...	yang	...	shiu	nge	r'a	mao
see	gien	...	...	ran, yö	...	yen	bang	bu	bao
word	hua	...	...	zao	...	ua	s'ei	lü	lo
speak	so	...	...	nao, kang	...	kang	gieo, cang	a lü	c'o lo
hear	tin	...	...	nyi	...	nyi	ntang	do gia	nao
laugh	shiao	...	...	riu	ro, rai	yu	dio	dsu	dsao
walk	dseo	bai	sö	bai	...	biai	he	mu	siü
weep	k'u	...	ngö	dai	...	dai	kang	ca	ca
strike	da	...	ndu	duai, di	...	da	duei	du	deo
fear	pa	...	gi	lao	...	lao	sh'i	r'i	ntsai
calico	bu	bö	mi	bang, ruok	...	bang	shi	ndo	ndeo
black	he	lang	nao	uan	...	nam	deo	klü	klo
white	be	ru	tu	zao	hkao	hao	llu	kli	klaeo
red	hung	llo	ne	nding	döng	nding	shiao	li	lai
blue	lan	le	wo	wung	...	muong	le	bra	so na
yellow	huang	nyi	sa	ien	...	hen	f'ie	cau	klang
hot	re	lieh	tsu	rao, riam	...	rik	sh'fo	tsü	ko
cold	len	ka yin	ia, wya	giang, daa	...	yiam	sei	sie	dsai
high	kao	vieh	chium	sang	sung	rang	hi	r'e	suai
low	ngai	kua	chio ne	dam	dam	dam	ka, nga	lü	ngei
large	da	dso	zwo	ndum	dong	lao	ll'io	llu	lliao
small	shiao	nga	tseh	nai	noi	ning	nieo, yieo	iu	yieo
many	do	ai	nu	lai	lai	lai	nao	ndo	ndeo

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

Lolo AE 4

Shan-Thai AL8

few	sao	di	no	siu	…	riu	siu	shi	dsaeo
good	hao	a	nio	ndi	di	ndi	zeo	re	rung
bad	bu hao	a au	ma nio	mi ndi	mi di	mbo ndi	a zeo	meh re	dsï rung
heavy	dsung	k'en	li	nak	nak	nak	ntiung	ntiau	niang
light	chin	kao	lo	mbao	bao	mbao	f'a	chi	sï
no, not	bu, mu	…	ma	mi	mi	mi, mbo	a	meh	dsï, ma
eat	tsï	ka	ru	ken	kin	ken	nang	ndŏ	nao
rice, cooked	fan	me	ro	zao	hkao	…	ka	ntu	nao
drink	ho	ren	ndo	ken, söt	…	ken	heo	hu	fu
tea	tsa	mi	gi du	dsei	…	tsa	giang	g'i	mblung
water	suei	u	i	ram	nam	ram	eo	eh, eo	kle
whisky	giu	ba	ndsí	lao	lao	lao	giu	gi	giaeo
fire	ho	bai	mdo	vi	fai	fei	du	di	daeo
horse	ma	niao	mnei	ma	ma	ma	ma	mi	neu
ox	niu	nieh	nyi	dsö	…	dseo	liao	iu	nio
buffalo	niu	wu	hu nyi	vai	…	uai	niang	nguei	diu
goat	iang	mieh	tsai	iung	…	yung	li	iau	tsï
dog	keo	mu	chei	ma	ma	ma	lla	kle	kle
pig	dsu	ma	va	mu	mu	mu	ba	ba	ba
fowl	gi	cai	za	kai	kai	kai	cei	ci	cai
duck	ia	ber	mbŏ	pit	pet	bit	ka	u	ao
egg	dan	dang	ndo	kai	khai	giai	kei	ce	…
flesh	reo	a	hu	no	nua	no	ngi	ngi	ngai
house, home	gia	ko	heh	ran	…	ran	gie	bre	be
door	men	nge	hen ku	du	…	do	diu	dsö	dsung
head	teo	ka	a nku	kao	…	giao	c'o	ho	hu

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7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
6/6 AE 4
SHAN-THAI AL3

M 192
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Sh 192

English.	Chinese.	Keh-lao.	No-su or Lo-lo.	Kweichow Chung-chia.	Siamese.	Kwangsi Chung-chia.	Heh Miao.	Ya-ch'lo Miao.	Hua Miao.
ear	er	rao	le bo tsu	re	...	reo	niei	bre	mbi
eye	yen	dao	na du	da	da	ngui	mai	mü	ma
hair	fa	ma sang	hu tseh	ben	...	bium	lliang	blo	bleo
hand	seo	mao	la	vung	...	fõng	biei	di	de
foot	gio	cau	chi ba	din	din	din	lao	ce	daeo
tooth	ia	bang	dsa ma	van	fan	heo	mpi	nti	nai
heart	shin	lu	neh ma	dsö	chai	ram	lliu	bli	suai
silver	yin	nyin	tu	ngan	ngon	ngan	nyi	nyi	nyai
copper	tung	nge	gi ne	luong	...	luong	deo	deh	dung
iron	tie	ging	hö	va	...	fa	ll'eo	llu	ll'eo
salt	yen	nyö	tsu	ku	...	giu	shie	re	ndse
buy	mai	...	sö	dsö	su	dseo	mai	mi	ma
sell	mai	...	...	kai	khai	kai	mai	mi	ma
road	lu	ken	niö	ran	...	uan	kei	ke	ke
street	kai	kai	...	kai	...	kai	ca	ke	kai
marked	tsang	k'ö	gi kao	gei	...	heo	shiang	ki	k'ü
river	{ho giang}	ndei	yi	da	...	da	ntiang	...	nai
hill	{bo san}	dse	mbe	bo	...	bo	bao, biei	bie	dao
sun	'rh	kuei	me tso	uan	van	nguan	ntai	ntü	no
moon	yue	ma do	hu bo	ndin	...	ndin	ll'a	lli	lli
heaven	tien	vlei	me ko	mben	men	mben	vai	lü dü	ndo
earth	di	du	mi chi	da, ndan	...	ndan	da	bu de	la dei
year	nien	...	ko	bi	bi	bei	ntieo	sö	sung

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

Lolo AE4
Shan-Thai

AL3

man (homo)	ren	...	uo tso	uen	...	uen	nai	ni	...
I	ngo	...	...	ku	kha	ku	vai	ku	ko
thou	ni	...	...	meng	mung	mung	mung	yi	ke
he	ta	...	...	di	...	dei	nih	ni	ni
mine	ngo di	...	...	kai, ku	...	kai ku	vai bie	ku bie	ko di
thine	ni di	...	...	kai mung	...	kai mung	meng bie	yi bie	ke di
his	ta di	...	...	kai di	...	kai dei	nih bie	ni bie	ni di
who?	na i ko	...	sa io	vang laeo	...	bu re	dai shi	deh shi	giao a dsï
wind	feng	...	mi hi	rum	lom	röm	giang	gia	gia
rain	ü	...	mu hu	uen	...	uen	nung	nŏ	nang
stone	sï	...	lo mu	rin	hin	yin	sei	re	re
demon	kuei	...	vi	vang	...	fang	llie	klau	klang
snake	se	...	bu sa	ngö	ngu	dang	ne	na	nang
give	kei	...	...	saeo	...	rong	bai, diao	ceh	bo
skin	pi	...	nyi ko	nang	nang	nang	li	di	daeo
die	sï	...	shi	dei	dai	dai	da	da	da
long	tsang	...	seh	rai	...	rai	da	die	nde
short	duan	...	nde	din	...	din	ka, lai	lü	lo
near	gin	...	no de	kaeo	...	giaeo	zei	re	re
far	yuen	...	vŏ	kai	...	giai	dou	ce	kle
hard	ngen	...	k a	nduong	...	ndong	diu, ka	dau cu	daeo
soft	ruan	...	no	uen	...	uen	mai	mri	pa
tree	su, ma,	...	seh deh	vai	...	fai	deo	ha	dung
clothes	i	...	to uo	bu	...	bu	u	bŭ le	tsao
shoes	hai	...	sa shi	zai	...	hai	ha	k'o	k'u
weary	lei	...	ta	nai	...	me	kau zwo	c'e	kla

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Lolo AE4
Shan-Thai AE3

M 192
L 192
Sh 192

English.	Chinese.	Keh-lao.	No-su or Lo-lo.	Kweichow Chung-chia.	Siamese.	Kwangsi Chung-chia.	Heh Miao.	Ya-ch'io Miao.	Hua Miao.
rope	so	...	dsa	dsak	...	dsak	ll'a	lla	lla
bowl	uan	...	lo di	dsa	...	uan	di kang	di	ndi
walnut	he tao	...	seh meh	dsao	...	he dao	he dao	chi, shi	klaeo
chestnut	ban li	...	meh dso	sai, bak	...	ban li	cao	la	ming
peach	tao	...	seh gio	dao	...	lak ma	llang	kla	kla
persimmon	si hua	...	seh ba	ndai	...	...	mi	mi	nai
pear	li	...	seh ndu	li	...	...	ra	ra	ra
bridge	chiao	...	ngu	giu	...	gio	gieo	lla	lla
root	ken	...	seh tse	ra	rak	rak	giung	giau	giang
father	fu, tie	...	a ba	iei, diei	...	yei, dei	ba	...	...
mother	mu, ma	...	a ma	iai, miei	...	me	mi	a nyi	nai
know	dsi, shiao de	...	...	ro	ru	ro	bang	bö	bu
child	er	...	...	lek	luk	lak	dai	dñ	do
little pig	dsu dsai	...	...	lek mu	luk mu	...	...	...	do ba
rat	hao, su	...	...	nu	nu	neo	ne	bra	a bia
sleep	suei	...	...	lap	lab	...	bie lli	bö glä	[illegible]
field	tien	...	...	na	na	nai lap	li	lie	lli
behind	heo	...	...	lang	lang	na	keo	...	cang
lunatic	feng dai	...	...	bak	ba	...	...	...	vü klang
divide	fen	...	...	ban	ban	...	fai	...	fai
we	ngo men	...	...	rao	rao	rao	bie	bie	be
ye, you	ni men	...	...	su	su	...	mie	mi	ne
they	ta men	...	...	sao di	...	...	nih dau	bo ki	...

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
Lolo AE4
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

APPENDIX II

M
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L
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Si
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THE lists of words given below are from different Lo-lo or No-su peoples in Kweichow and Yunnan. As I did not take down these words myself, I am not sure about the value of all the consonants, vowels, and diphthongs used. However, for the purposes of comparative philology, the words will serve as well as most lists of words, as writers seldom explain the system of orthography they use in writing them.

The Weining and Chaotung No-su lists were sent me by Mr. Hicks. Weiningchow is in the north-west of Kweichow Province, and Chaotung is three or four days north of Weining, in the province of Yunnan.

The Li-su, La-ka, and Kang-i lists were sent me by Mr. Nicholls. These people, who belong to the No-su race, are to be found in Wutingchow, about five days north of Yunnanfu, and northward up to the Chinsha-chiang or River of Golden Sands, as the Yangtze River is called in that region.

The few Si-fan words were taken down by Mr. C. Baber at Tso-ta-ti, probably in Szechwan.

[TABLE

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
Lolo AE4
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

M
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L
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Si
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English.	Weining No-su.	Chao-tung No-su.	Li-su.	La-ka.	Kang-i.	Si-fan.
one	t'a	ki	ch'ī	t'a	ta	tu
two	ni	ni	ne	ne	ne	nu
three	sö	so	so	sa	sa	si
four	lü	bre	le	lle	lle	jro
five	ngu	nga	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngei
six	ch'ö	ch'io	ch'o	ch'o	ch'u	ch'u
seven	shi	shī	she	she	she	shun
eight	hö	hö	hei	hei	he	jih
nine	chü	kü	ke	ku	ker	ngo
ten	ts'eo	ts'e	ts'e	tsei	ts'ai	ch'i ch'i
hundred	ho	ha	ho	ho	u	...
thousand	tu	tu	tu	sa	...	...
want wish	lü	nge	le	nga	ngo	...
come	li	la	lao	lei	lei	...
go	leo	dev leo	ye	le	ye	...
make	tseo	tse	pei	pei	pei	...
see	ni	e	miao	na	ngo	...
word	hing	hi	ta pu	ta che	...	...
speak	nto hing	nde hi	...	che	nchī	...
hear	no	nya	ta no	ta no	...	...
laugh	rai	rī	ver	nguo ye	...	...
walk	seo	sï, ia	ye	ta le	ye	...
weep	nü	e	nger	ngu	...	...
strike	ntu	ntu	te	tu	...	...
fear	chieh	ni ia	chiu	chiu	chu	...
calico	mi mi	mu mu	me	p'o	p'u ho	...
black	na	nie	nei	na	na	...
white	t'u	t'u	p'iu	t u	t'u	...
red	neo	ne	ne	nei	nei	...
blue	iö	o	p'e	vu wu	pa pa ya	...
yellow	shö	shī	she	sho	sha sha-yang	...
hot	tso	ts'a	ts'o	ts'o	ts'u	...
cold	ch'ī	nyie	chei	chia ke	cha nke	...
high	ch'io mu	a mu	me	ch'a mu	...	...
low	ch'io nai	e mu	nge	ch'e ne	...	...
large	rõ	a	ver	wo	...	...
small	mpa	i tsï	yere	neur	...	...
many	nu	na	miu	no	...	...
few	nö	nu	nga niu	ch'e ts'e	...	...
good	tsu	tsu	tse	to	tso	...
bad	ma tsu	ma tsu	te	he	...	...
heavy	li	a lu	le	le	...	...

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
Lolo AE4
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

M
192
L
192
Si
192

English.	Weining No-su.	Chao-tung No-su.	Li-su.	La-ka.	Kang-i.	Si-fan.
light	lo	le	la	la	...	...
no, not	ma	ma	ma	ma	...	...
eat	tsu	tsa	chong	tso	...	...
rice, cooked	chia	kue	tso	a me	...	...
drink	to	te	ta	ye ta	...	...
tea	chi tu	chī tu	lo ve	lo chie	...	...
water	i	rī	a chie	ye	...	...
whisky	nyi	nyi	chī pe	chī	...	...
fire	mi tie	to	to	mo to	...	...
horse	mu	mu	mu	mu	...	...
ox	nü	nü	ne	ne	...	...
buffalo	o nü	o nü	o ne	o ne	...	...
goat	ch'ī	ch'īe	a ch'ī	chi'ī	...	...
dog	ch'i	ch'ī	a nu	ch'e	...	...
pig	ba	bie	vare	va	...	...
fowl	a	ie	yere	ya	...	...
duck	pe	ŏ	a	e	...	...
egg	nto	o	fu	llo	...	...
flesh	fu	ha	ho	ho	...	...
house home	hi	ie	a k'e	a ke	...	...
door	ko keo	nga k'e	a tu	a ko	...	...
head	ko	u	o te	o ka	...	...
ear	lo po	na pu	no pa	no pa	...	...
eye	na tu	nie tu	mare tu	na tu	...	...
hair	mi	mu	u tse	o ts'e	...	...
hand	la	lie	lai	la pa	...	...
foot	t'u ch'ī	ta chī	ch'e	ch'e pa	...	...
tooth	djö	drī	seh	nie pu	...	...
heart	nei	nie	ne mo	ne mo	...	...
silver	t'u	t'u	piu	t'u	...	...
copper	...	diī	che	che	...	...
iron	sie pie	hu	her	sie	...	...
salt	ts'u	ts'a	tso	tso	...	...
sun	nie dji	ni djī	a me ne	mu ch'e	...	...
moon	lo po	lo po	shiu pu	nao po	...	...
heaven	mü	mü	me ka	mu ka	...	...
earth	mi	oī	me nare	me ch'e	...	...
demon	ts'o pu	lie dji	nei	vare	...	...
hill	pie	pu	tare po	pare ta	...	...
tree	chie	chi	shi che	shī tse	...	...
rain	ho	ha	ho	ho	...	...

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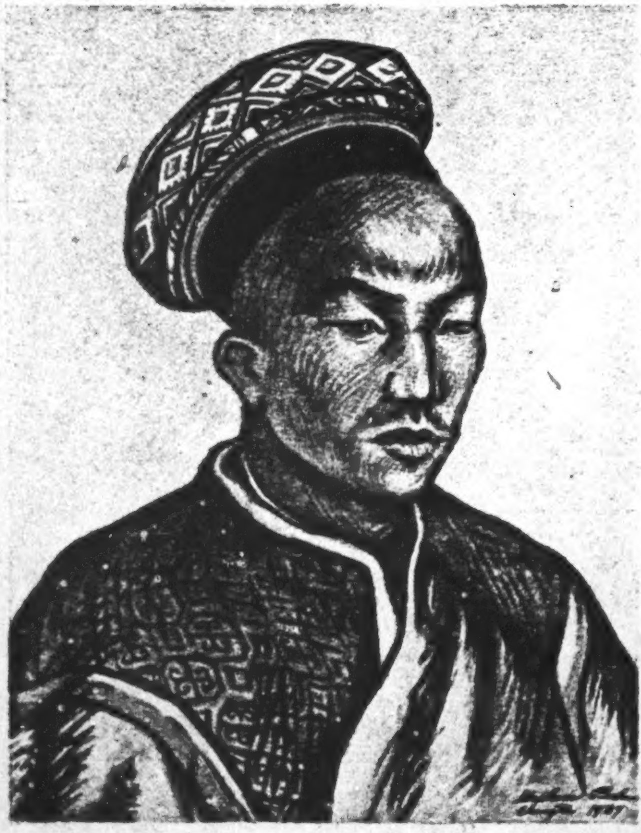
/For information pertaining to the feudal organization of the Lolo, see 7: Clarke AE5 Miao, category 116, pp. 120-126./

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539



A Ch'uan Miao man clothed in embroidered garments. Formerly both men and women wore such embroideries on festive occasions. The men now do so only in a few isolated localities, and the women are rapidly discarding this unique and attractive dress for unembroidered cotton clothing.

From a sketch by Mr. Graham Peck

[facing p. 13]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'UAN MIAO 川苗

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

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In the following article, THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'UAN MIAO, and in the translations of Ch'uan Miao memorial ceremonies and the ceremonies of the exorcist, I have used the International Phonetic Script for Ch'uan Miao terms and the Wade system of romanization for the Chinese. For the convenience of the reader, a phonetic table is here given.*

CONSONANTS

b	as in bit.
d	as in dig.
dʒ	as in judge but without aspiration.
d^z	is d plus a slight z sound
f	as in fat.
g	as in go.
G	an uvular g.
ŋ	ng as in king.
h	as in hat.
X	rough h as in the Scotch word *loch* and the German word *nach*.
j	as y in young.
ʒ	is the French j, bordering toward the English fricative (for which r is used in this table of sounds.)
ʒ̇	is a strong palatalized French j.
k	as in kind.
l	as in law.
l̥l	Welsh unvoiced ll plus voice l.
m	as in man.
n	as in new.

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*NOTE—I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor J. E. Moncrieff of West China Union University and to Dr. Serge Elisseeff, Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute for assistance in distinguishing the Ch'uan Miao sounds and in making out these tables.

p	as in pin.
r	which in strict phonetic script is J, the ordinary fricative. (untrilled) initial r of southern English and American speech.
s	as in sit.
ʃ	as in shut.
t	as in tin.
T	a dental t sometimes written t̪.
tʃ	as ch in child, weakly aspirated.
v	as in vow.
z	as in zone.
w	as in wit, well.
'	is used to indicate an especially strong aspirate.
-	underscording is used to indicate a weaker aspirate.

VOWELS

i	as in pique.
i·	as in imp.
	as in end.
a	as a in hat.
a:	as a in shah.
ɔ	as o in hot.
ɔ·	as au in haul.
u	as in put.
u·	as oo in pool.
o·	a pure close long o.
ʌ	as u in nut.
y	is umlaut u (ü) of the German language.
ə	very slightly resembles the French mute e. It is pronounced with the teeth of the two jaws very close together to produce a feeble sibilation. The lips are not rounded but remain neutral. The tongue is more advanced than in French. It is sometimes written ï in the romanization of Chinese sounds.
ã	is nasal a.
õ	is nasal o.
ai	as i in bite.
ao	as o in how with a pure o ending.
au	as o in how with an open u ending.
ei	as in eight.
ou	as o in go (with a u ending).
ʌu	as the Chinese ou (Wade) or eo (China Inland Mission).

PREFACE

This article is the result of about fifteen years of study and contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 people. 121

I first learned of the Ch'uan Miao in 1921 through a Hua Miao 花苗 who came to Suifu 敘府 during a famine. Soon after that I visited the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao 洛表 and at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 and a Ch'uan Miao boy, Yang Fêng Chang 楊奉璋, came with me to Suifu where, with my help, he studied in and graduated from the Baptist junior and senior primary schools. After that he was my almost constant companion and went with me on nearly all my expeditions on the China-Tibetan border. From him I learned something of the Ch'uan Miao language and customs.

On returning to Szechwan in 1932 as curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, I made a more determined effort to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. Yang Fêng Chang spent much time with me at Chengtu and after his tragic death, while hunting takin, I made three summer expeditions to the Ch'uan Miao region, and another in the spring of 1936 to Suifu when several Ch'uan Miao came out and assisted me in my study.

Since the summer of 1934 much help has been given me by Mr. Hsiung Ch'ao Sung 熊朝嵩, a Ch'uan Miao who formerly lived in northern Yunnan but now lives at Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 near Lo Piao. The fact that he has travelled over much of the Ch'uan Miao territory has made him a valuable assistant. The information received has been repeatedly checked, verified and often corrected through other Ch'uan Miao from Wang Wu Chai, Chou Chia Kou, Yung Ning 永寧 and from different parts of northern Yunnan.

The Ch'uan Miao generally say very little about their 609 customs. They have informed me that in the past they have never told many of these things to anybody outside their own group but have made evasive and misinforming statements. To this day some ceremonies are performed behind closed doors, such as the worship of the door and the killing of the sow when worshiping the sky demon. The main ceremonies of commemoration are purposely confined to the Ch'uan Miao dialect so that nobody who is not a Miao can understand them. In the two ceremonies mentioned above, if one word of Chinese is spoken, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

I have made a sincere and earnest effort to understand the Ch'uan Miao people among whom I am considered a very good 123 friend and by whom I have been given the complimentary name

123 of Na Kw'a Tai Lo, meaning great and kindly teacher. It is
my hope that this study will contribute to a better under-
standing of the Ch'uan Miao.

I. INTRODUCTION

133 South of Suifu in Szechwan Province, on the borders of
Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan, the mountains rise to an
487 altitude of from three to six thousand feet. There are many
high peaks, precipices, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs,
forests, waterfalls, natural bridges, and streams disappearing
into the mountainsides and reappearing far away. While the
roads between Chinese towns and villages are generally paved
with stone slabs, many of the roads are narrow footpaths,
sometimes steep and dangerous, winding up the mountainsides
or through the fields and forests. This is the home of the
Ch'uan Miao people.

161 This ethnic group, which is generally called a tribe,
includes about one hundred and fifty thousand people. They
are found as far north as Kunghsien 珙縣 and Ch'angning
131 長寧, about one hundred *li* east of Yung Ning 永寧, as far
south as Ta Kuan 大關 in Yunnan Province, and as far west
as Sui Chiang Hsien 綏江縣. In the same region is a much
larger population of Chinese, for the Ch'uan Miao do not live
in a territory by themselves but are interspersed among the
Chinese people.

These people resemble the Chinese in having a light,
142 olive-brown skin and very little hair on the face, but they
differ from the Chinese in West China in being slightly shorter
in statue and in having a less evident epichanthic fold or
Mongolian slant to the eyes; there are greater physical
differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos (Nosu)
and Tibetans.

Below is given a very brief comparison of vocabularies.
192 From Samuel R. Clarke[1] I have borrowed all, with two or
three slight changes, except the Ch'uan Miao. The romaniza-
tion is that of Clarke and as far as possible, I have made the
romanization of the Ch'uan Miao words correspond for similar
[197] sounds. A comparison of the languages and of the social
and religious customs, makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao
are a branch of the Miao-Yao Group and of the Mon-Khmer
Family.[2]

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[1] S. R. Clarke: Among the Tribes of South West China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911.

[2] H. R. Davies: Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

COMPARISON OF VOCABULARIES OF SOME WEST CHINA ETHNIC GROUPS

English	*Chinese*	*No-su or Lolo*	*Heh Miao*	*Ya-ch'io Miao*	*Hua Miao*	*Ch'uan Miao*
one	i	dai	i	i	i	i
two	er	nyi	au	o	ao	ao
three	san	se	ba, bie	bie	be	be
four	sï	lli	llao	bleo	bleo	bleo
five	wu	ngwu	gia	bzï	bsï	tsï, tsuei
six	lu	chio	dieo	dsü	dseo	deo
seven	ch'i	shi	shiung	sau	shiang	shiang
eight	ba	heh	la	yi	yi	yi
nine	gio (giu)	kö	gio	gia	gia	gia
ten	sï	tsö	gieo	ku	ku	keo (geo)
hundred	be	hu	ba	ba	ba	ba
thousand	chien	du	s'e	chie	tsai	ts'a
ten thousand	uan	mi	vie	ua	vang	vang
is	sï	ngeo	diau	ieh	iao	iao
have	vu	dso	mai	nieo	ma	ma
want	iao	le	eo	ia	ia	ia
come	lai	li	lou	lu	lao	lo
go	k'ü	yö	mung	mu	mu	mo
make, do	dso		ai	a	a	a
word	hua		s'ei	iü	lo	lo
speak	so		gieo, cang	a lü	c'o lo	a lo
walk	dseo	sö	he	mu	siü	mo
fear	p'a	gi	sh'i	rï	ntsai	nt'sai
large	da	zwo	ll'io	llu	lliao	lo
small	shiao	tseh	nieu, yieo	iu	yieo	iu
good	hao	nio	zeo	re	rung	rong
eat rice, cooked	ts'ï	ru	nang	ndö	nao	nao
ox, cow	niu	nyi	liao	iu	nio	nio
man, or human being	ren	uo tso	nai	ni		nun

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101 The word Ch'uan 川 means river but it is also an abbreviation for the word Szechwan 四川. Szechwan means four rivers. The Szechwan people are often called Ch'uan Jen 川人 and Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵 Apparently the Ch'uan Miao have been given this name because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao 苗 means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The word Miao sounds like the Chinese word cat. and it is very likely that the name Miao was given to these people by the Chinese because their speech sounded to the Chinese like the mewing of cats. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to aborigine groups in West China.

The Miao call themselves Hmoŋ and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmoŋ Bo or ancient Miao because they believe that they belong to a very ancient race. The Hua Miao are called Hmoŋ Nd^{z}ʌu or old Miao* and the Ch'ing Miao 青苗 are called Hmoŋ Ntgwa or dark Miao.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 There are frequent references to the Miao in the Chinese Classics. The accounts state that failing to pacify them by peaceful methods, the emperor exiled many of the Miao to the Province of Kansu on the extreme west of China, where they have apparently disappeared.† Other groups of the Miao who refused to be absorbed have been driven south and south-west into the highlands of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Hunan, Kweichow, Yunnan, southern Szechwan, the Island of Hainan and Tongkin. There are historic records of the forced migrations of Miao from Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces. One such migration occurred in 1733 during the reign of the Emperor Yung Chêng. 雍正.

Historians[8] indicate that the Miao were living as far north as the Yellow River, nearly four thousand years ago

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*Another name for the Hua Miao is Hmoŋ LʌU, which also means old Miao.

† Mr. Chuang Hsüeh Pên 莊學本, a representative of the Chinese government who has travelled extensively in the Si K'ang region, and was with the Panchan Lama at the time of his death, has studied and taken pictures of a Miao tribe in Kansu northeast of Kokonor, which is called the Pai Miao 北苗. It is very likely that the Pai Miao are the descendants of the Miao who were exiled into this region many centuries before Christ. There is a tribe or ethnic group of Miao west of Kwanhsien in the region of Mowchow 茂州.

[8] Faber, E., Chronological Handbook of the History of China, Shanghai, American Presbyterian Press, p. 4.
Li Ong Bing, Outlines of Chinese History, p. 2.
Müller, E. Max, Sacred Books of the East, Vol III, The Shu King, The Shih King, The Hsiao King, pp. 41, 54.

and then, after meeting the Chinese, migrated to the south 175
and the south-west. Abadie in *Les Races du Haut-Tonkin* states that the Miao entered the highlands of Tongkin in very recent times. The Suifu history speaks of the Miao being in the Szechwan-Yunnan border region during the Sung and the Ming Dynasties but it does not indicate what tribe or tribes of Miao were represented nor when or whence they came.

The Ch'uan Miao have a tradition that they were brought 173
from somewhere in South China, probably from the region of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien, within the last three centuries, with their hands tied behind their backs, and released where they now live. Some of them point to peculiar wrinkles between their wrists and their elbows which they believe to be scars made by the cords that bound their ancestors. There are legends that point to a land in the north where there were camels and also Chinese, and others that speak of groves of banana trees on the hillsides. There are legends to the effect that their ancestors lived in a hot southern climate, and others that mention a race of people
whose skins are black. The Ch'uan Miao embroidery resembles 171
that of the Miao on the Island of Hainan more than it does that of the Hua Miao, their nearest neighbors on the south. Their language has nine tones, like that of some of the Chinese of the Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien region, while the Chinese language spoken in West China has only
four or five tones. After studying their legends and Chinese 174
history I am inclined to think that the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao originally lived far south in the torrid zone, in the region of India, Burma or Tongkin or some island in the Pacific or Indian Ocean, whence they migrated northward above the Tongkin Lake and even into the Yellow River Valley where they met the Chinese over four thousand years ago. Thence they went southward into Kwangtung or Kwangsi from where they were brought as captives and released in the highlands where they now live, not over three centuries ago.

It is possible that the Ch'uan Miao are a mixture of 101
several smaller Miao groups who have been or are being absorbed into one cultural group in one cultural area. In this area there are many lesser variations but a general similarity in language, customs, and physical appearance. In northern Yunnan there is a group of Ch'uan Miao called the Hsiao Hua Miao 小花苗 or Little Flowery Miao, that is now being absorbed. In the northern part of Kweichow there are Ch'uan Miao who are called Ya Ch'iao Miao 鴉鵲苗 or Magpie Miao who may be a small group that has been almost absorbed. Near Chên Hsiung 鎮雄 are the Hmoŋ Glɛ or White Miao who are also Ch'uan Miao. Near Lo Piao the Ch'uan Miao

101 are also called Tʌu Tʌu Miao or Basket Miao because the women wear hats that are like small bamboo baskets inside. Near Laowat'an 老鴉灘 the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ch'ing Chi Miao because their clothing resembles the plumage of a certain wild pheasant. Near Chên Hsiung the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ho Shang Miao 和尚苗 or Buddhist Priest Miao because their clothing resembles that of a Buddhist monk. The Ch'uan Miao are also called Hmoŋ Swa or Chinese Miao because they have been much influenced by Chinese language and customs and the men dress like the Chinese.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE

262 241 231 The food varies slightly in different localities and corresponds closely to that of the Chinese neighbors. The legends indicate that in former days there was a greater dependance on wild game. fruit, berries and vegetables.[4] The supply of these has lessened as the land has become more thickly populated. Even to-day in times of famine the poor avoid starvation by eating wild herbs, roots, berries and fruit. In the more favored localities there are rice fields and rice is the principal food of well-to-do people. Most of the fields are so steep that rice cannot be planted so that corn is the main staple of diet. It can be made into biscuits but very often it is ground and boiled and eaten, like rice, out of bowls with chopsticks. It is then called *pao ku fan* 包穀飯 meaning corn-rice or corn-food. Wheat, oats and buckwheat are also cultivated and made into biscuits. The garden supplies beans, peas, onions, turnips, cabbage, carrots and other vegetables. Pigs, cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks and geese are raised and used for food, supplemented by fish and the flesh of wild birds and animals. Dog-meat is sometimes eaten by the poorest people, as among the Chinese, and also the flesh of snakes. The black snake is more often eaten than other snakes. Magpies are more often eaten than crows. [278 House rats are seldom eaten while mountain rats are considered a delicacy by all. Hawks are seldom eaten for food but their flesh is used as medicine.]

262 Generally only the well-to-do eat rice and the poor eat corn meal. By the wealthy, meat is eaten once in several days, by the poorer, once in several weeks and by the poorest only at feasts and festivals. Vegetables are used whenever

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[4] One summer I spent my vacation in the high mountains beyond Mupin 木坪. I found that the local hunters, herders and medicine gatherers were quite dependant on wild vegetables for food and that over twenty species of wild vegetables were edible either in a raw state or when cooked. There were three species of wild onions and one of wild celery, and a native counted twenty-two species that he knew of.

available but this is only for about half the year. Eggs are eaten only on special occasions.[5] 262

The Ch'uan Miao are an agricultural people. They are all sons of the soil and get their living from the soil. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests or shamans have farms, sometimes owned but generally rented, and they depend primarily on farming for a living. Sometimes there are houses that are only a few rods apart but I have not seen or heard of a single Ch'uan Miao village or a locality that could boast of a single street. 241 [361]

In former days when land was plentiful and forests were abundant, a man often got his farm by cutting down the trees in a forest and later, when the wood was dry, burning off the trees and grass. This, of course, left a rich virgin soil. After a few years the land became less productive and the owner deserted it and made another clearing. Later the deserted land could again be used profitably. There are no longer such unclaimed virgin forests so that the Ch'uan Miao are obliged to keep their farms productive by means of fertilization.

The domestic animals and fowl are cattle, horses, water-buffalo, mules, donkeys, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, chickens, ducks and geese. Horses are not used for plowing but as riding and pack animals. Water-buffalo are generally used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields while cattle are used in the dry fields and gardens. Mules and donkeys are less common than horses. There are many sheep in Yunnan Province but few in Szechwan where goats are more common. Every family has at least one watch-dog and there is a special breed of hunting-dogs. Cats are kept in families that are not too poor to afford them. Chickens are found in nearly every home but ducks and geese are less common. There are fewer water-buffalo and more horses and cattle among the Ch'uan Miao in Yunnan than in Szechwan. Cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, sheep or goats, pigs and water-buffalo are kept in barns that are near houses or are actually parts of the houses. Cats, dogs and chickens sleep inside the houses where they roam about unrestrained. 231 [224]

The farming implements do not differ from those of the Chinese. The same plows, harrows, hoes or mattocks, sickles, flails, and so on are used. The plow consists of a naturally crooked tree to which are attached an iron point and a wooden 241 412

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[5] R. G. Agnew investigated the diet of the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao and found that malnutrition was quite noticeable in most families and is a fundamental cause of the high death-rate, especially of children. He recommended that eggs be eaten for phosphorus and albumen, milk for minerals and vitamins, fruit for vitamin C and soya beans and vegetables for minerals and vitamins.

241 handle. The harrow is made of thick boards or beams through which iron spikes are driven. The hoe, pick or mattock has 412 a long wooden handle and only one point. The sickle used for reaping has a short wooden handle and a curved iron blade. Rice is threshed by holding a bunch of the rice straw in the hands and beating the heads on the inside of a large wooden box into which the grain falls until all the grain is beaten off the stalks. Wheat and oats are threshed by means of flails by men or women who strike the grain in succession. The plow can be used in the rice paddies and on other level fields but much of the land is so steep that it can be cultivated only [311] by means of the hoe. Some of the land is so steep that it cannot be cultivated. This is a valuable source of supply for firewood, lumber and medicinal herbs and is useful as pastureland.

342 The houses are built like those of the Chinese. The roofs are made of straw or of reeds or more rarely of tile. The walls may be of beaten clay, of cornstalks tied together, of bamboo strips woven together and plastered with clay, and this possibly whitewashed, or of lumber. The simplest houses are oblong, consisting of one or two rooms. Sometimes there are no windows in the smallest and simplest houses and only one or two doors. As the houses vary in size and complexity, they may be oblong or triangular and consisting of two sections at right angles to each other, or of three sections with two parallel sides and a third section joining them across their ends or they may have four sides enclosing an open court or "heavenly well." There is only one story but sometimes there is a loft with or without windows.[6]

Some people live in natural caves. They are the poorest folk who cannot afford to make or to purchase homes. The legends indicate that in the past cave-dwelling was much more common than it is to-day. In times of war or when brigands approach, many families move into caves which serve as strongholds until the danger is past. Only natural caves are used in this way but many of them have been artificially improved so that they are almost impregnable.

762 There were formerly many fortified places called in Chinese *chai tsï* 寨子 where groups of houses were clustered together for protection. This is indicated by the names of places such as Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 and by the frequent references to fortified places in the legends. To-day there

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[6] People do not sleep in the loft. There they store their rice, corn, beans and other grains and baskets, rain hats and tools. In the poorer houses the windows are small square holes with vertical slats of wood or bamboo to keep out birds, animals and people. The best houses have wooden lattice windows made by Chinese carpenters.

are none to be found. One explanation given by Ch'uan Miao 712
friends is that the danger of fire was too great so that people no longer built their houses so close together. There are two other possible reasons. One is that the Chinese destroyed the strongholds in war and to prevent future rebellions, and the other is that there is no longer danger of raids and attacks from the Lolor. Chinese histories actually mention the destruction of the strongholds.[7]

There is an old custom that is not always practised 788
according to which when a family moves an iron cooking 765
vessel is buried near the old home as a means of commemorating it. Another old custom now no longer practised is that when a person died in a house the house was destroyed and the family moved to another spot and built a new home.

Hunting is a pastime engaged in by the men and boys 224
when game is plentiful, in winter when there is less farm work to do and during the New Year holidays. Sometimes one person goes hunting alone, sometimes two or three men go out into the woods together and at other times a larger number make up a hunting party. In such a party some of the men guard the paths where the animals are likely to come out and others with dogs go towards them through the woods shouting and driving the animals towards their waiting companions. Formerly traps were set, snares were used, and pits were dug, but since the coming of firearms these have fallen into disuse. Bows and arrows and crossbows have almost but not entirely disappeared. The arrows are sometimes poisoned in which case they cause death within a short time.

It has already been noted that some Ch'uan Miao, in 463
addition to being farmers, are also when occasion requires carpenters, blacksmiths or masons. A smaller number work in brass or silver, but the best work in all these trades is done by Chinese.

Both men and women work in the fields, using the hoe 462
and the sickle, but only men use the plow. It is believed to be sinful for a woman to plow, for a cow or a water-buffalo is a worthy beast and woman is inferior, and if she does use the plow the animal she uses will accuse her of sin after she dies and goes to heaven. Both men and women carry loads on their backs or on carrying poles. Women generally carry water, make yarn from wool, make string from hemp shreds, do most of the sewing, cooking and weaving and do all the embroidery work, leaving the larger share of the farm work to the men. It is therefore customary to speak of one's mother as the old lady inside the house and of one's father as the old man outside the house.

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[7] This is mentioned in the history of the Prefecture of Suifu, 敘州府志

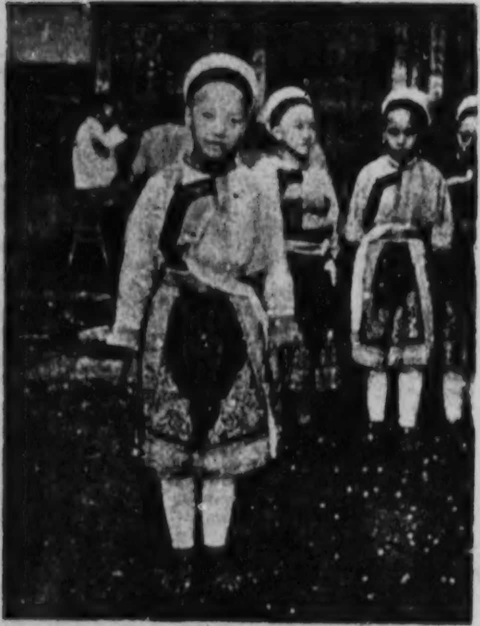
804 The Ch'uan Miao are acquainted with and frequently use the Chinese system of measurements by which ten inches make one foot and ten feet are one *chang* 丈. But they have a variation of this system which is more commonly used by them. According to this method the distance between the first and the second joints of the middle finger is one inch. The stretch of the hand from the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger is five inches and two of these are one foot. The arm stretch from the tip of one middle finger to the tip of the opposite middle finger is five feet and two of these are one *chang*. In some localities bamboo combs are used to measure cloth.

805 The method of reckoning time is that of the Chinese from whom it was evidently learned. A month is called a moon. There are twelve lunar months in one year and sometimes thirteen. Each month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Gregorian calendar is becoming known.

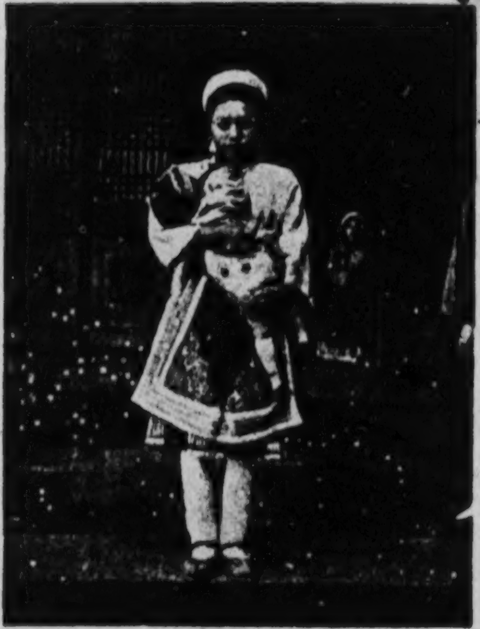
436 439 There are localities where the Ch'uan Miao barter a great deal because of the shortage of money, the differences being paid in cash. This is more common in northern Yunnan than in Szechwan where market-places and towns are more accessible. The Ch'uan Miao sell cattle, goats, sheep, horses, pigs, chickens, corn, rice, eggs and vegetables and purchase salt, cloth, silver ornaments, pottery and implements and tools made of iron.

352 The furniture corresponds to that in the Chinese homes. The most essential articles are the square tables and the long narrow four-legged stools called in Chinese *pan têng* 板凳. Chairs are to be found in the well-to-do homes. The cheaper kinds are made of bamboo but better chairs are made of wood by Chinese carpenters and carved with Chinese ornamental designs. A bedstead consists of a wooden frame and four legs of wood, covered with a mat of bamboo slats over which there is a layer of straw. A straw matting may or may not separate this from the bed clothing. Above the more elaborate beds are frames of wood or bamboo on which mosquito nets are hung. The stove may be a hole in the ground, which is said to be the oldest form, but it is generally like that of the Chinese, made of clay and stones or bricks, and with holes for one or more cooking vessels. The meat, rice and vegetables are cooked in the iron cooking vessel called in Chinese a *kuo* 鍋. There are usually tongs made of bamboo or of iron and small iron shovels, bamboo brushes and strainers. The lamps are usually simple, earthenware, cup-like bowls that can be hung up on posts or on the walls of the house, in which is burnt *ts'ai yu* 菜油 or rape seed oil. [412] [373]

[facing p. 24]



Ch'uan Miao girls in festive dress.
Photo by D. C. Graham.



A young Ch'uan Miao woman with her baby.
Photo by D. C. Graham.

[292] [177] 291 562 The Ch'uan Miao men formerly wore elaborately embroidered clothing on festive occasions but this custom has almost entirely disappeared. They commonly dress exactly like the Chinese so that it is impossible to distinguish a Ch'uan Miao man or boy when he is on a road or in a village. But there is no such difficulty in recognizing a Ch'uan Miao girl or woman for her attire is different from that of the women of any other tribe or race in West China. Near Lo Piao the hat consists of a bamboo basket-like frame covered over the top with cloth that resembles human hair and around which are wound beautifully embroidered bands which are often joined at the rear and allowed to hang down the person's back. The jacket or gown reaches just below the waist and is ornamented along the edges with colored embroidery. It is fastened by a button at the throat, another between the neck and the right shoulder, another under the right armpit and others going vertically down the right side. Over this garment is often worn a finely embroidered breast cover. The skirt is pleated so that it can be easily made into a complete circle when it is laid upon the ground. Designs are dyed on the skirt in blue over beeswax, after which the garment is further ornamented by varicolored embroidery designs. The skirt is fastened on by a belt consisting ordinarily of a cord or unornamented belt of cotton or hemp cloth and on festive occasions by an embroidered belt from which are hung several embroidered cloth pendants. They wear a beautifully embroidered apron and the lower legs are covered by puttees of blue or white cloth that are sometimes embroidered. The thicker the puttees the more attractive they are supposed to be. No trousers are used but sometimes they wear more than one skirt. On the feet straw sandals are generally worn, but sometimes cloth shoes that may or may not be embroidered. Two brass hatpins on which ornamental designs are carved, brass or silver earrings and hair ornaments, and silver or brass finger-rings and bracelets complete the attire of the Ch'uan Miao women who rarely use cosmetics which they do not need because of their naturally good complexions.

294 [171] Carl Schuster, who has specialized in the study of embroideries, visited the West China Union University Museum in the fall of 1935. He was intensely interested in the Ch'uan Miao embroideries and found two elaborate designs that also occur in eastern Europe, one among the Ukranians and the other among the Rumanians.] These are so complex that scientists would find it difficult to believe that their existence in the three cultural groups could be explained otherwise than by diffusion. He considered the art of the Ch'uan Miao embroideries, judged by the fineness and elaborateness of the designs and the colors, to be among the best, but the collection of Ch'uan Miao embroideries that he

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

294 saw was only about one fifth as large as that now in the Museum, and some of the finest specimens were not then in the collection.

177 Within twenty years probably there will be no such embroideries among the Ch'uan Miao. The making of such embroideries takes a great deal of time and often the girl or woman who wears them is ridiculed by less intelligent and unfriendly Chinese who live near them. For these reasons the Ch'uan Miao women are very rapidly adopting a simple Chinese style of embroidery or merely purchasing cheap and gaudy cloth and ribbons in the Chinese markets. The change is taking place so fast that the difference between the clothing worn now and even two years ago is quite noticeable.[8]

IV. SOCIAL RELATIONS

596 The family is the social unit. Descent is reckoned through males and the oldest living male is the head of the family. Before a girl marries she belongs to the family of her parents but after marriage she belongs to the family of her husband. While the parents live all the descendants, except females that are married but including the wives of the male descendants, live in the same house. After the death of the parents the children separate and form new families. There is evidence in the legends that formerly the husbands lived with the relatives of their wives so that the families may have been matrilinial.

Sons are more desired than daughters because they remain in the family. Women are considered to be inferior to men but women and girls are appreciated and desired.[9]

There is a larger sense in which the family includes all blood relatives of the same name—fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, sons, gandsons, great-grandsons, uncles, cousins, and so on and their wives and umarried daughters, but it does not include the women who have married into other families. The importance of this enlarged family can be seen when the memorial and calendar festivals and the intricate list of the ancestors and descendants are noted.

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[8] The Ch'uan Miao do not wear their best clothing and ornaments at funerals. They are worn at weddings, at feasts and at the memorial services and calendar festivals.

In Savina's book, *Histoire des Miao*, there are pictures of Miao wearing brass chain ornaments hanging from their necks. I have purchased chains like these from the Ch'uan Miao but they are now very rare.

[9] In some localities men and women in the same family eat together but the daughter-in-law, because of a sense of shame, does not eat with the rest of the family. A daughter-in-law must not sit down on the same bench with the husband's father, brothers, or uncles but she may with her husband.

There is also the family in the largest sense, which we may call the clan. All male persons of the same name, whether or not they are related to the others by birth, their unmarried daughters, their wives and the wives of their male descendants, are regarded as related. A person can remain indefinitely in the home of a family to which he is not related by birth but having the same family name and he pays nothing for his food and does not easily wear out his welcome. It is considered a crime for two persons having the same family name to marry although there is no known relationship. There are certain memorial ceremonies in which all partipate who have the same family name, for all such are regarded as blood relatives, especially if they can trace their descent to the same legendary ancestor. 618

There is another way in which relationship is reckoned. Certain male relatives of a girl may have sexual relations with her without marriage and a man may enjoy sexual relations with certain female relatives as a matter of course and it is considered legitimate and proper, nobody raising any objections. It must not be with relatives of the same name. In Chinese they are called guest-wives and guest-husbands and in Ch'uan Miao the guest-wives are called ɔʒʌu Ma· and the guest-husbands are called nd^{z}ʌu la·. A man's guest-wives are the daughters of his mother's brothers and of his father's sisters. A girl's guest-husbands are the sons of her father's sisters and of her mother's brothers. Copulation with guest-wives and guest-husbands takes place before marriage without opposition from the parents or relatives and often it goes on secretly after marriage. There is a Ch'uan Miao proverb, 837

"A woman has ten husbands,
A man has ten wives."

Recently, both among the Hua Miao and the Ch'uan Miao the Christian husbands and fathers, wives and mothers and other relatives have been opposing this custom, but many of the non-Christian guest-husbands have been unwilling to give up their inherited privileges and have raised trouble about it. There have been quarrels and fights and in some cases the persons endeavoring to bring about a reform have been obliged to secure the help of Chinese officials. 837 178

Furthermore, there is a feeling of fellowship, friendship and relatedness among all the Ch'uan Miao that results in a spirit of helpfulness and cooperation. It is said that no Ch'uan Miao need starve to death unless there is a drought or famine. If one family is destitute other Miao families will each contribute some food or other necessity and the poor family will be able to get along. 186 476

769 Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and one of the main duties of a child is to commemorate and make offerings to his departed ancestors. All the memorial festivals but one are for this purpose and in all the seasonal festivals or those that come on regular dates throughout the year, offerings are made to the ancestors and they are commemorated in the usual way.

421 All property, such as tools, weapons, furniture, domestic animals, money, houses and fields, belongs to the family and after the death of the parents, when the family is broken up, it is divided among the sons of the deceased. Such things as clothing and personal ornaments belong to individuals.

671 Among the Ch'uan Miao there are no written laws. The customs and habits of the group are the laws and what is customary is right. Crimes are infractions against the customs or mores of the group.

619
622 There is no tribal organization. That is, there is no political organization that extends throughout the entire ethnic group. A locality may elect a headman, called a gy lʌu or old club, and the headmen of several different districts may cooperate for the general good, but the headmen are not bound together by an organization affecting the entire Ch'uan Miao region. If the Ch'uan Miao are a tribe, it is because they are physically related and have a common language, common customs, common ideals, and a common culture. These bind the people together more securely than could any political organization.

627 Minor offences may be settled between the two persons concerned. When this cannot be accomplished, the families of the two persons endeavor to solve the difficulty. In more weighty and difficult matters, the local headmen or a number of the older people of the district are called in. It is said that only one or two per cent of the worst cases are taken to the Chinese courts. The reasons are not far to seek. Litigation in Chinese courts is expensive and a Miao, since he is a member of a different race, is likely to be discriminated against. In addition he is at a disadvantage because he cannot read Chinese characters.

681 An offence or a grievance may be settled or recompensed for by the gift of a chicken, a duck, a pig, a goat or sheep, a cow, or some other object. Sometimes a beating is administered and sometimes the death penalty is exacted. It may be carried out by throwing the guilty party over a cliff or down a natural pit into the earth.

on Pg. 29

[224] 524 Men sometimes amuse themselves by going hunting together, generally in the winter time when there is less work to do. Both men and boys play shuttlecock at New Year time. The shuttlecock is often made by fastening feathers to a piece of bamboo. Sometimes the shuttlecock is kicked but more often it is knocked back and forth by means of wooden bats. There is a memory game in which the players use grains of corn. One is blindfolded or turns his back and the grains of corn are laid out on the table. Others pick up the grains of corn, a few at a time and say, "So many grains have been picked up. How many are left?" Sometimes, one or two cobs of corn are held in the hand and the players guess how many grains of corn there are on each cob. One game is played by nailing two planks or wooden beams together in the center at right angles to each other and balancing them on a pivot. Four men or boys balance themselves on the four ends of the beams and others rapidly turn around the cross or wheel with the four men on it. "Playing lion" is indulged in at New Year time and at weddings. Two men throw over themselves a cloth resembling a lion's skin. Then the lion fights with a man who always triumphs over the beast. [573] Occasionally friends are invited to a feast where wine and tobacco are the principal means of entertainment. Both men [276] and women smoke tobacco and drink wine but few of them smoke opium.

The Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music and among their 533 principal amusements are singing and playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 or six-tubed wind instrument accompanied with dancing. There is no written language and much of the history and legends or folklore of the group have been made into songs and are passed on from generation to generation. Some of the words in the oldest songs are not understood by the Miao [178] at the present time and many of the young people are not learning the songs so that it is probable that they will be forgotten and lost within the next forty years.

The Ch'uan Miao rarely sing group songs or songs in which men sing one verse and women sing another in response. This is more common among the Hua Miao. Nearly all the songs are sung by one person, a man or a woman, to whom others listen. Sometimes, but rarely, men sing one verse and [584] women sing in response alternating until the song is finished. The songs sung on such occasions are love songs. At engagement ceremonies the middle men of the bride and the middle men of the groom sing alternately, sometimes ridiculing and sometimes praising each other. These songs and their tunes have been composed and handed down to subsequent generations for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years and they are still being made. There are sometimes contests to see 533 who can sing the largest number of them. When anything important happens, a song may be composed and it is sung and taught to others. If some good deed is done, the person that is benefitted may write a song and thus spread the knowledge of it abroad and to future generations. If an injustice is done, this is an efficient way of punishing the offender and of securing revenge.

There is nothing that could be called band music, 534 although at funerals and other ceremonies the jointed bugles, called in Chinese *sa la tzŭ*, and brass gongs are used, and the ceremonial drum is accompanied in funeral and memorial ceremonies by the *liu shêng*. The mouth harp, made of brass or of bamboo, is played by lovers when they are sitting side by side and making love to each other. Tree leaves are used for making love when the lovers are far apart, for the noise is much louder and they are thought to be very efficient in winning the feminine heart, as the following proverb shows:

bloŋ tgə gwa· bo· tgə Ta·
bloŋ tgə nd^{z}ao bo· tgə hnao.

which means:

If the tree leaf does not resound, the wife will not come.
If the tree leaf does not sound forth, the wife will not hear.

With both the mouth harp and the tree leaf the music is accompanied by audible words.[10]

Of special interest is the *liu shêng* 六笙, called by the Ch'uan Miao gaign or gʌn. It consists of a piece of wood two feet or more in length, hollow inside, and larger at the bottom than near the top. The upper portion is about an inch in diameter and the base is from two to three inches in diameter. Into holes in the larger part of this wood are inserted six bamboo tubes of unequal lengths in which there are brass reeds. The six notes made by means of these tubes are all harmonious so that two or more can be sounded at one time. The result, in the hands of a skillful musician, is beautiful music. Only men and boys play the *liu shêng* and the player always accompanies the music with dancing, so that the result is not unlike that of a Scotchman playing his bagpipes.

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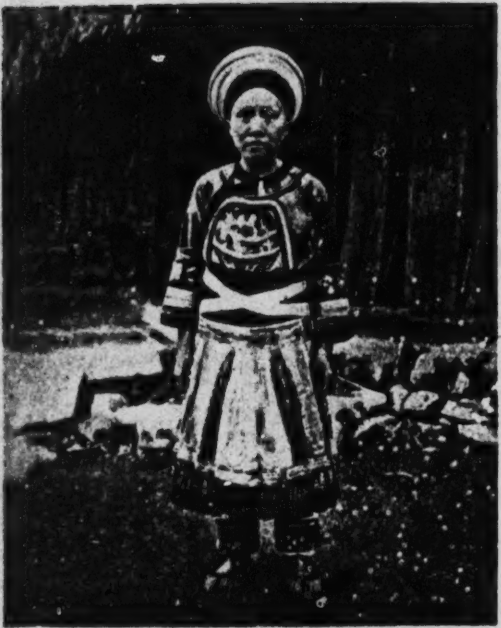
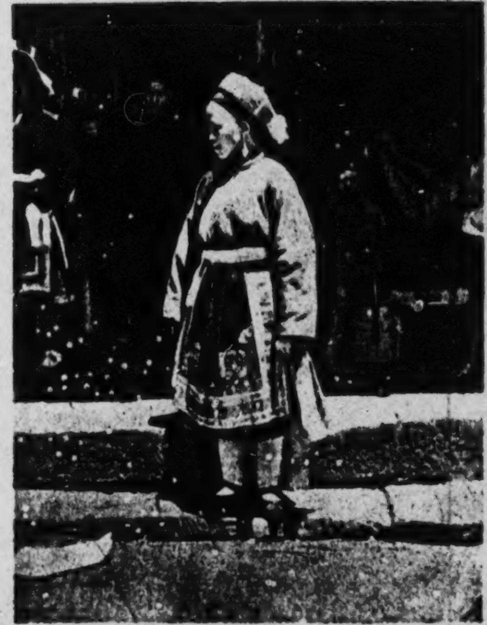
[10] Warning of the approach of robbers is sometimes given by means of tree leaf music which can be heard ten *li* distant. The speaker does not actually pronounce words. He or she makes the same tones with the same emphasis as if speaking the words or sentences and it is easily understood by another Ch'uan Miao. 202

[facing p. 32]



A Ch'uan Miao woman in festive dress. This picture was taken in 1925. Since then such embroideries have been rapidly disappearing, but there is a collection of over four hundred pieces in the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

Photo by D. C. Graham.



A Ch'uan Miao woman wearing her embroidered garments, taken in 1936. The embroideries are not nearly so elaborate as those worn by Ch'uan Miao women twenty years ago. Ch'uan Miao embroideries are rapidly disappearing.

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178

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

533 To an untrained occidental ear, the tunes of the Ch'uan Miao seem to be very much alike and to resemble those used in western countries by the liturgical churches in their religious chants.[11]

The Ch'uan Miao distinguish at least the following different kinds of songs with appropriate tunes:—

1. Songs sung by go-betweens when making engagements.
2. Songs sung when sending the bride away from her home on her wedding day.
3. Songs sung when welcoming a bride at her wedding and at other times during a wedding.
4. Love songs, of which there are two kinds, those sung more loudly when the lovers are apart and those sung in very low tones when lovers are sitting close together.
5. War songs.
6. Hunting songs.
7. Fishing songs.
8. Songs sung by *tuan kung* 端公, while exorcising demons.
9. Songs sung at deaths and at funerals.
10. Songs sung during memorial ceremonies.

535 The music of the *liu shêng*[1] is distinguished as follows:—

534
1. That used when sweeping the house preparatory to a memorial festival.
2. When welcoming back home the souls of the dead.
3. When presenting the sacrificial animal to the ancestor.
4. When making a sacrificial offering of food or wine to the ancestor.
5. To distinguish time limits in the memorial ceremonies.
6. Thanking the filial son after feasts in the memorial ceremonies.
7. When sending or escorting the soul of the dead to heaven.
8. Tunes played just for amusement.

The mouth harp is played only in low, soothing tones when making love and audible words are spoken.

Only love songs are played with tree leaves. The music is louder than that of the mouth harp and audible words are spoken.

With the flute can be played

1. Love-songs, but words cannot be spoken.
2. Music merely for pleasure.

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[11] While the tunes of the Ch'uan Miao are definite and regular, there is probably greater freedom for changes and variations than is the case in occidental music.

1[see p. 31]

534 Jointed bugles and cymbals and brass gongs are more rarely used but they can be played at almost any time.

574 The Ch'uan Miao are very hospitable. A friend can stay in a home for a week or ten days and he will be given food and a bed and charged nothing for them. Chickens are considered especially good and appropriate for entertaining guests. Sometimes both a cock and a hen are killed and some of the meat may be left for the guest to take home with him. The greatest hospitality a Ch'uan Miao can show is to kill a young grown cow or bull and to give a feast to which other friends are invited. Next in importance to a cow is a sheep or goat, then a pig and then a chicken.

572 Friendship among the Ch'uan Miao is sincere and deep and they respond to friendship and kindly treatment. By the very tones of the voice it can be discerned whether the Ch'uan Miao is very friendly and familiar with the person to whom he is speaking, or only fairly so, or not at all, or is an enemy.

V. SOCIAL CUSTOMS

831 Friendship, fellowship, appreciation, sympathy, love and marriage between the sexes is as natural as eating, and they are craved by most people of both sexes. The sex appeal may be one of the most powerful influences for good or for evil. If satisfaction cannot be had in normal and approved ways it will often be sought in ways that are irregular and harmful.

The life of the average Ch'uan Miao, who lives in a simple hut on a high mountain, with no pictures or ornaments in the home, no schools or books, meager furniture, much hard work, few neighbors, simple food, no theatricals and little or no play, is humdrum. It is not unnatural that aside from eating sexual love and sexual intercourse are among the primary enjoyments of life.

The Ch'uan Miao customs in the past have apparently been such that affection between men and women resulted in sexual intercourse, generally illicit. Nearly all the love songs tell of love affairs between men and other men's wives or between women and men to whom they were not married but with whom they enjoyed sexual relations. Some of the legends express disapproval of parents who raised objections because young men were spending the nights in the bedrooms of their daughters and others mention with approval the fact that parents purposely had outside doors for the bedrooms of their daughters so that their lovers could easily enter and spend the night there.

836 On the second or third days of the second moon, at ***tuan yang*** 端陽, and on the sixth day of the sixth moon, men
837 and women and boys and girls go to market. There they make advances to each other and a boy or a man goes home with a girl or a woman. On the way or in her home they are likely to enjoy sexual intercourse. They may or may not be married people. If anybody in the home of the woman or girl objects, a quarrel ensues. Generally no trouble is made by the wife or husband of either of the actors. But sometimes a woman who has irregular sexual relations with men other than her husband objects to her husband's doing likewise and in rare cases she commits suicide. It is said that among the Ch'uan Miao there are no harlots, women who habitually sell themselves for money and depend on that for a living. Sexual relations are generally the result of love affairs.

At the *tso chai* 做齋 ceremony or the *ch'ao chien* 超薦
837 ceremony, or at the *hua t'an* ceremony, the host may bring
593 out a bamboo stick and hang it up on his door and near it hang up an iron chain. Then he says, "You are my guests, old and young. If a wife or a husband causes trouble because of what his mate does I will not endure it." He implies that he will beat that person and if the person does not run away or desist he will chain that person up. Then those present quietly entice each other, without speaking a word. If a man entices a woman and she consents, they enjoy each other and nothing happens. If she refuses, he desists. The same principal holds if the woman makes the advances. The act of sexual intercourse may take place in the woods, in the house where the guests are being entertained, or in another house. Nothing is done by either a husband or a wife afterwards. It is thought by some that this custom has grown out of unhappy early marriages.

Women purposely dress as well as possible so as to look pretty and attractive to the opposite sex. They do not use face powder, but most of them do not need to for Nature has given them good complexions. Women who are popular with men are pretty or ready of speech or well dressed or good singers or have bright minds or have money. These are the qualities that attract the men. Men who are popular with the women are handsome, or mentally bright or good singers or good at playing the *lu shêng* and dancing, or have money. Wealth alone is not sufficient, although it makes a great difference, and generally but not always ability to work is esteemed. It is said that the most potent music of all in
533 making love is that made by blowing on tree leaves which has the advantage that audible words can be spoken by the musician.

Sexual attraction naturally results in love affairs and love 584 affairs naturally result in sexual intercourse. Sometimes this results in marriage but often it does not.

Children are often married at a very early age. It is not 582 uncommon for a child to be married when only three or four years old and most children are married by the time they are twelve. Of course these are not love matches, and serious love affairs later in life with men and women to whom they are not married are quite likely to occur.

The normal way is for engagements to be made by the 584 parents of the boy through go-betweens. The initiative is taken by the parents of the young man. When they have decided that they wish to make an engagement between their son and a certain girl, they call two go-betweens who are invited to a meal in the boy's home. A chicken is killed for the meal and its tongue, its bones and other parts of its body are examined to ascertain whether or not the circumstances are propitious.

If the signs are propitious, the middle men proceed to the home of the girl. There they endeavor to secure a favorable reply from the girl's parents who in turn call in go-betweens. If her parents are favorable, the go-betweens are feasted and they proceed to determine the details of the gift which must be given by the boy's parents to those of the girl. The gift may include pork, domestic animals, rice, beans, corn, money, or any other commodity. When the engagement presents have been given and accepted by the girl's parents, the engagement is complete and is seldom broken. There is a second feast for the go-betweens and other friends at the time when the engagement gifts are presented. The engagement is a contract between the parents of the young people. While the bride is not actually purchased, the value of the gift often goes a long way towards securing a favorable decision by the girl's parents.

When the go-betweens arrive at the home of the girl much of the work of making the engagement is often done by means of songs. By certain songs they announce their mission to the girl's parents. Other songs carry the work along, even to the matter of approximately arranging the gift. There are songs when the gifts are presented. Sometimes these songs take the form of contests when the two sets of go-betweens ridicule or try to outwit each other or see who can keep going the longest.

When the parents are unwilling to marry off a daughter, or nobody seeks her hand in marriage, or when the parents are unable or fail to make an engagement for a son, the marriageable person endeavors to win a mate. For this purpose he or she goes to the market place on the third day of the third moon, at *tuan yang* 端陽 on the fifth day of the

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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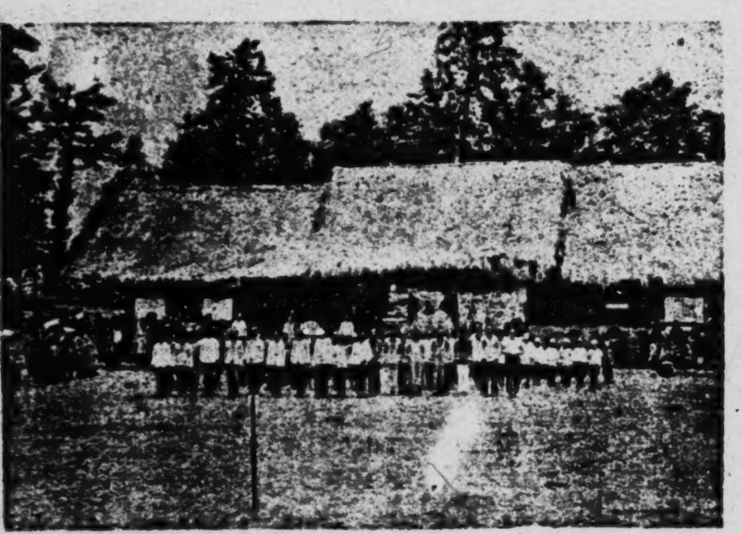

Picture of Ch'uan Miao pupils of four schools in parade in front of the Ch'uan Miao school house at Wang Wu Chiai.

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A Ch'uan Miao family on the Szechwan-Yunnan border. The two boys are students in a Ch'uan Miao school.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p. 36]

584 fifth moon, or at some other convenient time, or attends one of the Miao feasts or festivals, or joins those playing on the mountain-sides at New Year time. Either the boy or the girl can make the first advances. The methods are to look lovingly 584 with the eyes, to squeeze hands and to speak loving words. 833 This is inconvenient if there are many people about. A boy may take a girl's handkerchief or a girl take a boy's. Then the person who gets the handkerchief goes away and the other says, "That person has taken my handkerchief. Stay here and I will go after him (or her)." Then in a quiet secluded place they make love. They say loving words, squeeze each other's hands, and embrace. A very great evidence of love is when one spits and the other swallows the spittal. Copulation often follows after which a handkerchief or a ring may be given by the boy to the girl or *vice versa* and they make a vow such as, "If you do not marry me and marry another, you must take this engagement present and eat it and then I will make no trouble." It is believed by the Ch'uan Miao men that copulation is one of the surest ways to a woman's affection.

584 Later the parents must be informed and they must secure go-betweens and arrange engagement presents and so on. If the parents do not agree, then the young people run away together or the man carries away the girl. Then all the neighbors and friends urge the parents to consent and if they still do not agree the neighbors and friends practically compel them to do so. The gifts to the girl's parents are generally less than they would have been if the young people had been engaged and married in the usual way.

Marriage by capture is not unknown among the Ch'uan Miao. Sometimes the girls are quite willing to get married in this way, and it is said that happy marriages often result. Sometimes a man uses this method because he is in love with the girl.

Parents generally desire to marry off their daughters, for it is the custom of marrying daughters into other homes that makes possible the securing of daughters-in-law to labor in the home and to give birth to descendants. Besides, the girl's parents receive engagement gifts and these are sometimes very valuable.

585 The bride generally weeps before leaving her parental home. Sometimes the sorrow is pretended but at other times she is sad and unwilling to go and the parents and friends and relatives have to use persuasion and even coercion. There is an old custom by which the parents actually push the girl out of the house. It is customary for the girl and her parents to weep, either as a matter of form or because of sincere sorrow.

581 181 There is a strong sentiment against marrying daughters into families that live far away or in desolate places on high mountains. The common belief that the Miao love to live on the high and rugged mountains and are unwilling to live on the rich and level plains is as great a mistake as historians ever made. The Miao live on the high and rugged mountains because they are a defeated people and have been forced to do so. The Ch'uan Miao name for heaven is "Ntsə ni l ʌ u G ʌ u bi" or "the ancient level country of God." It is a land where there are no more steep mountains to climb.

585 Before the bride leaves her home, a meal is provided by her parents for her and for those who escort her. In the wedding procession there are generally one or more old women, relatives of the bride, a male relative or friend who manages the procession, the brothers of the bride and other friends who choose to go along. If it is a long distance to the groom's home, a meal is provided to be eaten by the way. In the bridal procession are generally carried such clothing, boxes, chests of drawers or other objects that have been given as bridal presents by her parents to the bride. The manager carries with him a bamboo tree with roots which symbolizes the large number of descendants of the couple. It is also supposed to have magic power to help the family thus to prosper. Sometimes a branch of a tea tree is also carried. Some plant the bamboo tree and others hang it up on the wall of the house. The *liu shêng* is not used at weddings for its notes are thought to be too sad for such occasions.

On arriving at the home of the groom, the brothers of the bride generally escort her into the house as a protection from demons. If she has no brothers, first cousins will do and lacking these, other male relatives may be invited to act as brothers. When entering the house the bride covers her face with a black and a white cloth. Her older brother goes in front and she holds onto his belt. Behind her an older or younger brother holds an umbrella over her as protection from demons.

Sometimes the bride and her companions enter the home and walk around in a circle three times. At other times, the Chinese custom of kowtowing three times to parents, relatives, and friends is followed. Tea is soon offered to the guests. According to an old custom that is no longer observed, the meat of a particular kind of bird and fish were provided at wedding feasts. There is always a wedding feast for the relatives and friends. One of the male relatives later counts before all the clothing, chests of drawers, and other things that have been sent along by the bride's parents. When her relatives and friends finally depart, the groom and his relatives go through a form of detaining her by force. This shows that

585 they really want her but it is also true that brides sometimes run away at this time. Another ceremony that is sometimes performed at a wedding is that of calling the soul of the bride. Her soul may fail to come with her and if it does not come, she will die.

After a few months have passed, the bride is permitted occasionally to visit her parents, but henceforth her husband's home is her home and his family is her family. She calls her husband's parents father and mother.

[847] When an unmarried woman gives birth to a child, the [848] child is made away with as secretly as possible and little is said about it. When a married woman becomes pregnant, 791 about three or four months before the child is born a *tuan kung* 844 端公 is called. He takes a bowl, fills it with water, and burns a paper charm in it. He then covers it first with a piece of paper, then with a blue cloth. He twists his hands in odd ways above the bowl of water. He calls his gods to come and protect the bowl of water and the woman. The water is supposed to be from a sea in heaven and to protect the woman from demons. The gods he has called live in the bowl of water as in a sanctuary, and they protect the pregnant woman. Therefore the bowl of water is hung up from a beam of the roof inside the house. On the first and fifteenth of each moon the head of the house pours water into the bowl to replace the water that has evaporated and burns paper money as a means of presenting money to the gods.

The *tuan kung* is paid before this ceremony and after the birth of the child if the child lives. He may be paid a dollar or two or be given clothing, pork, a chicken or some other object.

After the birth of the child the *tuan kung* is invited back to take down the bowl of water. He arranges tables, burns incense and lights candles, and burns paper or spirit money as an offering to the gods. Then he takes down the bowl of water. He repeats incantations, then pours the water out in the main hall near the end farthest from the door. He is again paid money or given presents if the child and the mother live, but not otherwise.

846 The mother is impure after the child is born and cannot leave the house for one month. On the third day a chicken is killed for her. The salt she eats must be burnt red in a fire before she can eat it, else she may become ill. On the seventh day the mother washes all her clothes. Then she can move about freely in the house, but she must not eat with anybody else, and she must be given good food to eat—eggs, vermicelli, cabbage and so on. But she must not eat fat meat and a few other things that are supposed to injure her. She must not eat the flesh of an animal that has been killed within the past month or two.

At the end of a month the shells of all the eggs she has eaten, most of which have been given her by her friends, are taken out and thrown away on a nearby road or path which indicates to her friends that the month of confinement is over and that she is now pure. None of the eggs given her during her confinement can be given away. They must all be eaten by the mother.[12] 846

Among some of the Ch'uan Miao it is customary for a woman to give birth to her child while squatting beside her bed, holding onto the sides of the bed with her two hands. Another woman stands behind her and helps hold her up, holding her about the waist. The placenta of a boy is sometimes buried deep under a pillar of the house and that of a girl under a door of the house. 844

Fearing that demons may harm the child, some do not cut the baby's hair for three years. Then the mother's oldest brother is invited to come and cut the child's hair. This brother sometimes gives the child clothing, a hat, a brass or silver bracelet, and a chain with a lock to hang around the child's neck. This is done in the morning after the *tuan kung* has repeated his incantations and performed his ceremonies during the whole of the previous night. Some at this time make a hole through one ear of the child and hang an ear-ring of silver or brass in it. The hole in the ear is an additional protection against demons. 852

When a boy is twelve, there is sometimes performed a ceremony of passing over the barrier which is called in Chinese *kuo kuan* 過關 and seems to be a sort of initiation ceremony. Twelve bowls are placed in a straight row on the floor of the house. They are covered by a piece of cloth about twelve feet long. Twelve sharp knives are placed on the floor in a direct line with the bowls and about one foot apart. The *tuan kung* first walks along, stepping on each bowl and then on each knife. The twelve-year-old boy then follows him, also stepping on each bowl and each knife. Generally neither the feet of the *tuan kung* nor those of the boy are injured, but if the feet of the boy are cut by the knives the *tuan kung* gets no money. This ceremony protects the child and afterwards he is regarded and esteemed as an adult. 881 791

If others desire special protection for a boy that is less than twelve years old, that boy can follow across under the protection of the *tuan kung*. The child will then be protected from demons and the ceremony will not be repeated at the age of twelve, but he will not be regarded as an adult until the age of twelve.

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[12] I have not been able to secure any evidence that the couvade was formerly practiced by the Ch'uan Miao. 846

[Facing p. 40]

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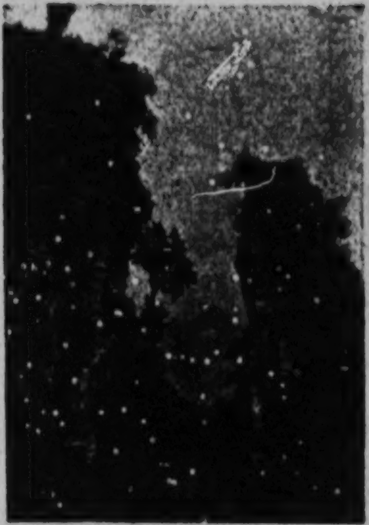
Ch'uan Miao aborigine children.

Photo by David C. Graham, 1934.

Ch'uan Miao girls in northern Yunnan wearing embroidered clothing.



A view in the Ch'uan Miao region on the Szechwan-Yunnan border.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

755 The Ch'uan Miao have no so-called doctors but there are some people who are supposed to know more about healing than others. They use mutton, pork, fish, the flesh of hawks or dogs, grasses, roots, bones of leopards, tigers and bears, and fossil bones and teeth. Neolithic stone axes, when found, are ground to powder and used as medicine. Fish is used to heal many diseases, pork to heal colds, dog meat to heal rheumatism, mutton to heal stomach trouble, and there is a kind of grass that is supposed to heal broken bones. This grass is wrapped around the broken limb which is bound up tightly until the bone has grown together. A few of these medicines have healing power, but others are positively harmful.

753 755 All diseases are supposed to be caused by demons. These creatures are the unhappy souls of human beings, animals and some inanimate things such as mountains and stones. The soul of a human being may become a demon if there are no descendants to provide for its needs or if the descendants are unfilial, do not show due reverence, and do not provide through offerings the necessary food, money, clothing, etc. Naturally the way to heal a disease is to get rid of the demon that is causing it and this is the work of the *tuan kung*. He knows how to find out what demon is causing the trouble and by means of charms, ceremonies and incantations he exorcises the demon and heals the disease. Of course he is paid for his services.

164 165 With such meager and inadequate provision for the healing of the sick it is not at all strange that the death-rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high. A Ch'uan Miao friend told me that eleven children had been born to him and that only two were still living, both of whom were less than ten years old.[13] He said that he believed that many deaths were caused by the use of the wrong medicines. It is evident that if the birth-rate were not correspondingly high the Ch'uan Miao would gradually disappear. Malaria, typhoid, and tuberculosis probably cause more deaths than other diseases.

762 A great many Ch'uan Miao women commit suicide, and it seems almost fashionable for them to take their own lives. The reasons are: first, that the husband and the husband's parents mistreat the wife; second, that her husband is unfaithful; and third, that she is grieved because of the death of her children.

763 When a person dies, people are afraid as long as the corpse is in the house, because they believe that the soul of the dead person may do harm to the living.

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[13] Since this was written, one of these two children and the father have died.

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After a parent dies, if he urinates it is unlucky and the children will suffer. If he has a bowel movement, the descendants will prosper and the feces must be carefully wrapped up and put away. Another custom is that the finger and toe nails must be carefully cut off and put away. Later, when the parent cannot be seen, the finger and toe nails can be looked at and this helps the descendants to remember the deceased. Still another custom is that the children must take a piece of white cloth and wash his face, then dry the cloth and burn it. When it is burning, if the shadows or shapes in the flames resemble a Chinese character, then the soul will be reborn as a male. If it is like a flower, the soul will be reborn as a female. The water that has been used to wash the face of the dead is divided among the children and drunk by them. Or the hands and the feet of the corpse may be washed and the water drunk by the children. Drinking this water is considered a very filial act and probably spreads many diseases.

Funeral ceremonies continue for two or three days in the summer time and sometimes for six or seven days if they occur in winter. The ceremonial drum, called in Chinese *kuei ku* 鬼鼓 or demon drum, is used much of the time, accompanied by the *liu shêng*. This is varied by the singing of appropriate songs by individuals and the playing of the jointed bugles, called *sa la tzŭ* accompanied by the beating of brass gongs.

When a person has just died, somebody plays the *liu shêng* and dances for a time. Then the officiating priest (generally there are in each family one or two who are efficient in conducting funeral or memorial ceremonies), who is called by the Ch'uan Miao *chi shih* 祭司 or priest in Chinese and mo in their own language, begins. The dead person has been carried in the coffin into the main room. The priest brings with him, or it is provided by others, a bow but no arrows. He cuts down a bamboo and makes of it another bow. Then he cuts down a peach branch and makes of it three or six arrows. He carries the bow he brought with him on his shoulder and a sword hangs from his belt. He takes the new bow and the arrows in his hands and a cock under his armpit. In his hands he also holds two pieces of bamboo which he uses in divination or conversation with the dead.

Three times the priest takes the dead person by the hand, saying each time, "I am helping you arise." Then, since the deceased does not arise, he takes the two pieces of bamboo and places them on the body of the corpse. Then he says, "I called you three times and I took hold of your hand three times and you would not get up. Now I will take the cock to lead you and will send a bow and an arrow to accompany you. If you hear another cock crow and yours replies, then that

764 person is your ancestor. If your cock does not reply, that is not your ancestor and you must not go. When you meet your ancestors, report that you were born a certain place at a certain time, lived in such and such places and died at a certain place. Then the ancestors will take you to Ntsə's level country and you will meet your male and female ancestors for three generations." Then the priest,[14] chokes the cock to death and the soul of the cock leads the soul of the dead to heaven. The g'a gei then takes a sharp bamboo stick about two and a half feet long, thrusts it through the cock just below the wings and leans the stick and the cock against the coffin.

Some time after this there is a ceremonial procession. In front is a man whirling a stick or baton. Then follow two men blowing water-buffalo horns, then two carrying green bamboo twigs and finally two men carrying guns. During the entire ceremony the ceremonial drum is beaten inside the house, the two men play the *liu shêng* and dance, the two buffalo horns are blown and the man in front whirls his baton.

The procession comes out of a side door, then through the front door enters the living-room, where the participants march around in a circle for some time. Sometimes the procession marches around the house, then around a square table in the front yard to one corner of which has been tied a green bamboo twig about eight feet high. At other times, they merely march around in the yard, then march around the table. Then they sit down at the table and drink the sweet wine that has been poured out for them in small bowls. The bamboo twigs are symbolic of the fact that in ancient times the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao lived in forests. The horns were formerly used to frighten away the tigers and wolves which abounded and are now continued by way of commemoration. The *liu shêng* is used for the good music and good appearance and the guns are added to symbolize the frightening away of wild animals. The Ch'uan Miao say that in ancient times such horns were actually blown during funeral ceremonies to frighten away the wild beasts that lurked about and that out of this custom the ceremony has developed and become more and more symbolic.

764 After this an animal is sacrificed. It is generally a bull but is sometimes a male water-buffalo. It may be a pig, a

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[14] The priest is now called a g'a gei or one who opens the way. g'a means "open" and gei means "road" or "way". The priest is called a g'a gei only when he is performing this part of the funeral ceremony, opening the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades. It is feared that the saying of this word may cause people to die so that the priest will have to open the way of their souls to the level land of Ntsə.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

sheep or a chicken, but it may not be a duck. The animal is led outside the front door. The rope which is tied to the nose of the bull is passed through the door, over the drum which is hung up inside near the coffin, up to the coffin, and put into the hand of the deceased. Then the priest says, "Your descendants are giving you this cow. Take it to Ntsə's level place. There visit your ancestors for three generations." Or he may say, "This is what your children have given to you. Take it to Ntsə's level country where you will meet your ancestors, and use it." This is followed by weeping on the part of the mourners. Then the priest pours out a bowl of wine for the *liu shêng* player and requests him to play and he pours out another bowl for the one who is to kill the bull and requests him to kill the animal. After drinking the wine the person takes a large knife or a hatchet or an axe and strikes the bull with the back of it until the bull falls down stunned. Then the throat of the animal is cut and the blood caught in a large dipper from which it is dipped out into a large bucket. The skin of the animal is taken off and the animal is cut up according to a regular custom. The oldest custom was apparently to cut it up into thirty-six pieces but now it is sometimes cut up into nine pieces. A pig, a goat or a chicken is cut up into nine pieces. The head, the feet, the tail, the intestines, the stomach, the skin, the lungs and the heart are not counted. The four legs count as four parts, the liver as one part, and the remainder of the body is divided up into four parts, making a total of nine parts. 764 782

The meat is boiled, but not cooked through, and is offered up to the ancestors. Sometimes only a small piece is cut off each of the nine parts, boiled for a short while and then offered to the ancestors in nine small bowls, while wine and rice are also offered and incense and candles burnt. Then all the meat is well boiled and the friends and relatives who are present enjoy a feast. But the sons and daughters of the deceased do not eat any of this meat at this time.

Generally the next night after the bull is killed, there is a ceremony of dancing and pushing. It is performed by the strongest young men. It takes place around the ceremonial drum and in front of the coffin, to the accompaniment of the drum and the *liu shêng*. So much strength is used that sometimes furniture is smashed, one or more of the performers pushed down and the walls of the living-room broken. Legend says that this ceremony began in a family where the parent died during the summer time. He was not buried promptly and in a few days numerous maggots crawled out of the coffin and onto the floor. The mourners performed this pushing dance and while doing so trampled the maggots to death. 764

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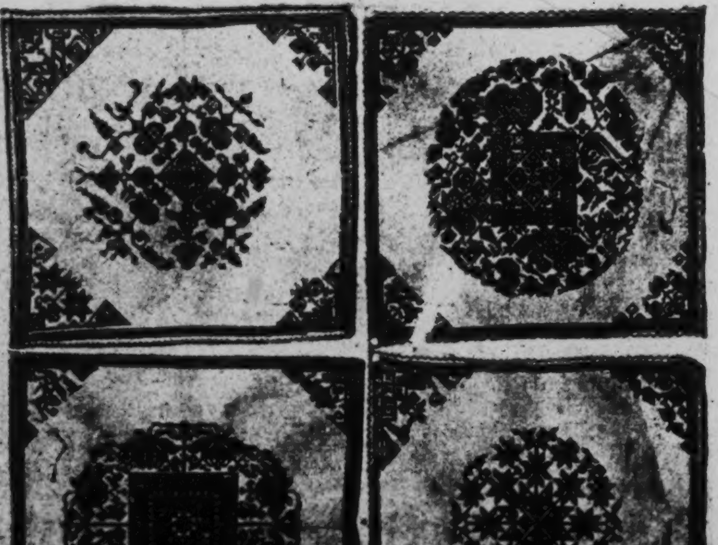

Ch'uan Miao embroidered handkerchiefs, now in the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

[facing p. 44]

764 At midnight, on the last night before the burial, or after midnight, the man in charge of the ceremonies and the feast makes a report. He states the cause of the death, tells how much clothing (giving the number of each kind of garment) the descendants have prepared for the dead and how much meat, wine, rice, etc. has been consumed at the feast. He also reports, if the deceased is a male and the head of the family, how many fields, houses, beds, chairs, horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, chicken, etc. and how much money the deceased has left for the children and what things are to be inherited by each child. Generally, but not always, the family divides at this time and each son becomes the head of a family.

[782] Some of the meat of the sacrificed animal is placed on the table at this time and the near blood relatives of the deceased who are not descendants eat it. The descendants have been kneeling while the things mentioned above have been anounced. They are now invited to rise. Wine is poured out for the relatives to drink. The descendants do not drink but continue weeping.

764 787 Next morning, very early, the priest throws the two pieces of bamboo used for divining unto the floor. If unfavorable, the dead is regarded as unsatisfied and then they enquire what the trouble is. The possessions may be divided wrongly, the place of burial may not be good, etc. Readjustments are made and the old relatives exhort the deceased to be contented. This is done until the cast is favorable. Then the coffin is carried out and the burial takes place.

764 Before the coffin is carried out, the priest puts a stool over the doorstill. Then three broken bowls are placed on the stool and burning wood or coal or charcoal is placed in the bowls. Sometimes a dry stick of wood is set on fire and used to light the way for the soul. Then the priest shoots three arrows into the house and three outside the house, standing across the doorsill as he shoots. While he is shooting the coffin is lifted up and carried out. The priest says, "I am shooting illness, pain, pestilence, quarrels, and evil things but I am not shooting living beings, domestic animals, or corn or beans. I am shooting quarrels and the places where the sun and the moon set." When he has finished speaking, he kicks over the stool. Some throw the arrows away outside the house and others carry them to the grave and stick them up on the grave to protect it.

While the corpse is being carried out the sons and daughters take the straw off the bed where the dead person slept and burn it behind the coffin to indicated that the illness has gone along to the grave with the dead. If the wind blows the smoke back into the house, people say that the illness has not yet departed and that others in the family may die.

754 An enemy who wishes to injure the descendants of a person who is being buried secretly throws tiny pieces of iron or wood onto the corpse as it lies in the coffin or into the coffin beside the corpse. If these are not removed, the descendants will suffer great injury, so just before the burial a careful search is made and all such things are carefully removed from the coffin.

787 Burials must be on days controlled by snakes or rabbits.

Because it is believed that the spirits of children, after death, roll hail in their hands and throw it down, making 766 hailstorms, they tie a red cloth around the hand of a dead child before it is buried so as to prevent the child from doing such things.

787 Formerly the Ch'uan Miao did not take note of the *yin yang* 陰陽 and *fêng shui* 風水 when arranging their graves. Now 764 they use these principles, which they have learned from the Chinese. Chinese *fêng shui* geomancers are sometimes called in to determine the place and direction of the grave, for they are considered more efficient than those of the Ch'uan Miao. Formerly the graves were parallel to the mountains but now, like those of the Chinese, they are at right angles.

765 For two or three nights after the burial fire is taken to the grave and on the next three mornings afterward food is taken to the grave for the newly-buried ancestor to eat.

In making the fire, twelve bamboo sticks are stuck into the ground on the road or path and six bunches of grass, called *yin pao* 陰包 are placed between the sticks. The grass is burnt but not the sticks.

On the first morning, three bamboo cups are filled with rice and some meat is wrapped up in a leaf. These are taken to the grave and left there. For the second meal, on the second day, these things are taken half-way to the grave and left on the road uncovered. On the first and second days the dead person is merely invited to eat. On the third day the food is placed on the grave and covered with thorns or twigs of bamboo and the food is left on the grave.

[775] To understand the Ch'uan Miao memorial customs, it must be borne in mind that the Ch'uan Miao family includes not only the living but the souls of the departed ancestors for at least three generations; also that the person in Hades needs the same things that he does in this world. He must have food, clothing, money and other things, and he will find cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens useful. These must be provided by the living descendants and the dead ancestors reciprocate by protecting the living descendants and helping them to prosper. Offerings or sacrifices are simply food, money, clothing, drink, etc. given to the deceased ancestors to eat; drink, wear, and use, with the expectation that the ancestors will help the

765 descendants in every way. Animals are killed with the idea that a life must be given but the life of the animal becomes a living creature that can be used in the other world by the ancestor. Such sacrifices are not atonements for sin.

These memorial festivals are taken very seriously by the Ch'uan Miao. They believe that people must not imitate these festivals in play, and certainly not ridicule them. The ancestors will surely take the life of a cow or water-buffalo that is offered in pretence.

Twelve days after the funeral there is a memorial festival called in Chinese *sao ch'ieh* and in Ch'uan Miao a'gi or *a'si*. The ceremonial drum is not used and the bull is not sacrificed. There is no music of the *liu shêng* or beating of drums or singing of songs.

At this time, the spirit is supposed to come back and visit his former home. Ashes are sprinkled outside the front door and the friends and relatives later look in the ashes for footprints. By the footprints it can be learned whether the person is now a grown human being, or a child, or has been transformed into a fowl, a horse, a dog, or some other creature. A cock is killed and offered in a raw state to the spirit. Then it is cooked, other food is added, and the relatives and friends have a feast. This festival is observed for parents, or for brothers or sisters over three years of age.

769 At a later date there is a memorial service called in Chinese *tso chai* 做齋 and in Ch'uan Miao a vang. It must take place not less than one year after the *sao ch'ieh*, and generally takes place two or three years later, but may be delayed ten or more years if this is made necessary by poverty. Friends and relatives march in procession to the grave (some families do not go to the grave but observe the entire ceremony in the home), beating gongs and drums and playing the *liu shêng*. In this way the soul of the dead is enticed back home. Generally a cow or a water-buffalo or rarely a pig is killed and offered to the ancestor, then it is cooked and eaten by relatives and friends. This ceremony is performed for older brothers or sisters and for ancestors for three generations. The ceremonial drum and the *liu shêng* are used in this ceremony.

775 After death a woman carries on her back a grass mat and a man carries on his back a wide, round, shallow winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 made of bamboo and about two and half feet in diameter. These are burdensome to the souls of the dead, since they make it impossible for them to enter the palace in the level country of Ntsə. The ancestors are released from these burdens during the *tso chai* ceremony and then go happily away to God's flat land where they can enter the palace and visit their ancestors.

There is a legend that in former times a Miao group or tribe called Hmoŋ Kw'a were accustomed to kill their parents 769 when they had become old and eat them and that their parents were glad to have them do so. It is said that the Ch'ing Miao 青苗 still call themselves Hmoŋ Kw'a and are probably the descendants of that ancient group. It is asserted that during the *tso chai* ceremony the descendants take bread or rice cakes and with their hands mould the cakes into human form, then place them in a bamboo bowl. The *liu shêng* is played, a cow, pig, sheep or chicken is killed as an offering, and after the offering is made the image is cut up and eaten. This is thought to be a continuance of the old custom of eating the parent. It is done very secretly for a Chinese or some other person might ask for an explanation and it would be difficult to give an acceptable reply.

Later, after an indefinite period there is a ceremony 765 called in Chinese *ch'ao chien* 超薦, and in Chuan Miao tsa moŋ. The custom is to dig up the corpse, throw away or burn up the old coffin, carefully wash the bones, place a new coffin in the old or in a new grave and new garments in the coffin, arrange the bones in their natural order on top of the clothing, carefully fold the edges of the clothing over the bones, put the lid on the coffin, and cover the coffin with dirt. This is still performed by many Ch'uan Miao. It is noteworthy that the same custom, which is rapidly disappearing, is found among the Chinese in Fukien Province.

It is thought that because the dead person cannot turn [775] over, he or she becomes very tired and uncomfortable. After from three to ten years the corpse is dug up. The bones are washed with "fire wine" 火酒, then they are rubbed with mustard oil. If the bones are black, the burial place is not good and the corpse must be reburied in a new place else the descendants will not prosper. If the bones are yellow or white, the place is lucky and the reburial should be in the same spot, and the descendants will prosper. During this ceremony the demon drum is used, the *liu shêng* is played to the accompaniment of dancing and appropriate songs are sung. A cow or a pig is sacrificed and there are offerings to the ancestors and a feast. Sometimes the person presiding, called mo, places in a bamboo basket a chopstick for each deceased ancestor and during the ceremony hangs the basket on a beam of the house. The results of this ceremony are that the deceased ancestor who is reburied is comfortable and the descendants have less illness and prosper.

I have been told by a Miao living at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 that in that locality they no longer dig up the coffin, wash the bones and provide a new coffin and clothing but that instead they make a tiny wooden coffin and garments only a few inches long and burn these with paper or spirit money in the

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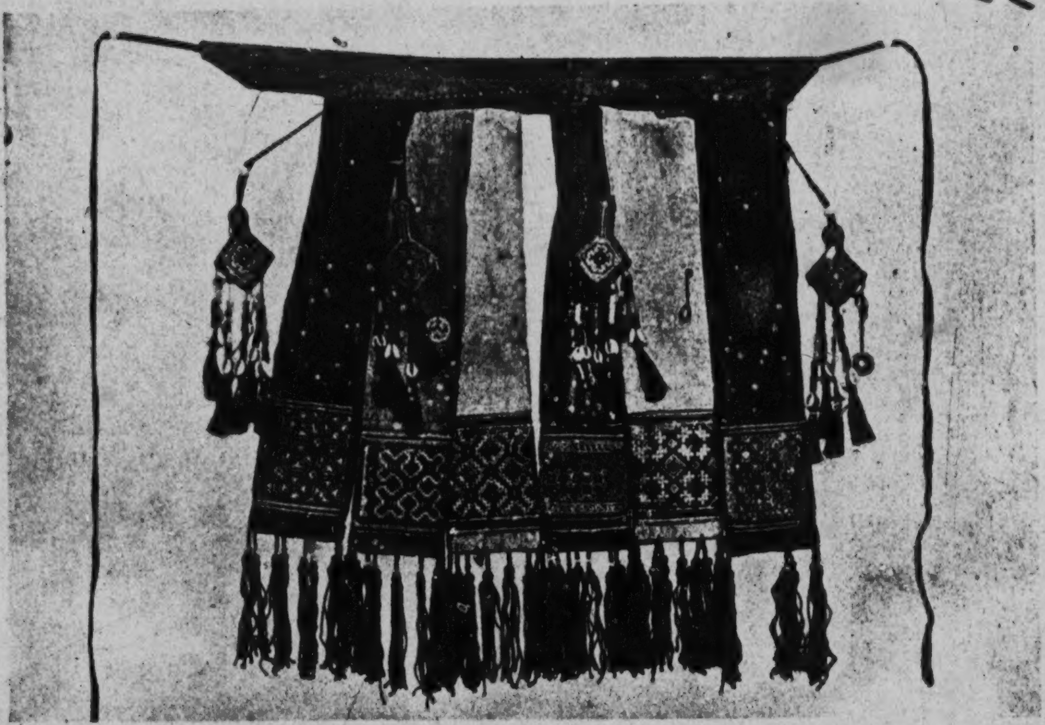
[facing p. 48]



Ch'uan Miao embroidered pendants worn by the women suspended from the belt. In the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

765 belief that they are transformed by burning into a real coffin, clothes and money that can be used by the dead person. This local variation is evidently due to the influence of Chinese burial customs.

Another memorial ceremony is called *hua t'an* in Chinese and a gi bang or a gei bang in Ch'uan Miao. It is performed in one of the homes and is participated in by friends and relatives having the same name. It takes place about once in three years and lasts from one day and one night to three days and three nights.

A bull is killed and its hide may be used to cover the ceremonial drum. If the old drum has been broken, a new one is made and the skin of the bull used to cover it.[15] Friends with the same family name come, each man bringing with him a load of wood. The water is carried by the women. Each family contributes some rice, corn, wine, money, or some other thing that is needed. The meat of the bull and the rice, corn, wine, and other edibles are offered to the ancestors after which there is a feast.

The drum is hung up on a wooden beam on which a wooden gourd is also hung. People of the same surname beat the drum, play the *liu shêng* and sing songs. Several men put on women's clothes and impersonate women. Twelve men impersonate cows, six arranged on each side. One who acts as a cow goes into the cowpen and an old person drives him out into the main room. Girls bring bowls of sweet wine for

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[15] The following is a brief account of the ceremony with a few notes. The drum must be made according to a certain pattern. The relatives come together and the ancestors are fiirst commemorated. The *yin yang kua* 陰陽卦 are washed as a means of washing the faces of the ancestors. While washing the ancestors' faces, the names of the deceased ancestors for three generations are called and they are invited to be present. The wine is offered. Then the cow is washed and offered to the ancestors. Then one person leads the cow and one carries a hatchet or axe. After this the cow is struck dead with the axe. The the cow's head is cut off, the animal is skinned and the drum is covered with the skin. The hair of the skin is outside and the hairless part of the skin is inside, next to the wood. The drum is hung up and wine is sprinkled on it from someone's mouth. Then the skin is allowed to dry, after which the hair is scraped off with knives. Then more wine is sprinkled out of the mouth onto the drum and the drum is left hanging on a beam to dry. Later one person beats the drum to the accompaniment of the *liu shêng* and the man playing the *liu shêng* dances. There is rejoicing in people's hearts because of the ancestors and because there is a new ceremonial drum. They beat the drum and play the *liu shêng* with dancing all night and in the morning, after having breakfast together, they disperse. Between the times when the drum is used it is left in the home of the local headman. After the drum is used it is returned to the local headman who is given some meat. This is the outstanding ceremonial instrument of the Ch'uan Miao and is believed to be very potent.

765 him to drink and make horns of rice biscuits which they put on his head. Then two girls herd six cows to the left and six to the right. Then the *liu shêng* is played, and while it is being played the twelve cows fight. Some of the cows as supposed to be killed. The people pretend to offer the cows that are killed to the ancestors and then to eat them. Those who do not die are left to do farm work and to get married. Four dressed as girls pretend to get married to four of the cows. After the marriage the four men play the *liu shêng* and dance, two women play flutes, one woman makes music on a tree leaf and one woman carries an imitation baby, pretending to suckle it and to bestow affection upon it. The women rub soot upon the faces of the men until their faces are black. Then those who are playing the *liu shêng* beat the child. About daybreak, the dummy child is beaten to pieces and the ceremony soon ends. The drum is sometimes carried to a cliff and rolled down the cliff or simply laid down on the side of the mountain after which the people disperse.

[618] It is noteworthy that all Ch'uan Miao who have the same name can participate in this ceremony, not merely those who are known to be related. It indicates that the clan idea still survives and that all having the same surname are regarded as relatives.

796 There is a special ceremony to make offerings to the souls of the domestic animals. It occurs on the third day of the third lunar month or on a cow day (a day controlled by the cow or the water-buffalo) during the first few days of the eleventh moon. It is generally performed on tops of hills or mountains or on mountain passes. A level place is always sought for the ceremony which is continued for from three to eight days.

The ceremony occurs once in three years. One family gives it and provides most of the food and wine although others assist. The purpose is to secure sons and daughters, to cause crops to prosper and to protect the domestic animals from wild beasts and from pestilences and to cause them to multiply.

A tree is cut off about as high as a man's head and the ceremonial drum is hung up on the stump. The tree is called in Chinese a *hua shu* 花樹 or a flower tree. Near the tree a bull is killed while the drum is being beaten and the *liu shêng* is being played and it is offered with wine to the animal spirits. Then several men playing the *liu shêng* and dancing parade three times to the left around the tree, then three times to the right. All this time the ceremonial drum is being beaten.

796 After the parade, playing the *lu shêng* and dancing continues and songs are sung. The singing sometimes becomes a contest to see who can remember and sing the most songs. After each song the singer ties a knot somewhere on the tree or on his person so that after the contest the knots can be counted and the winner determined. Of course during these ceremonies the animal that is sacrificed is cooked, wine, rice, corn and vegetables are added and there is a feast.

VI. THE CALENDAR AND THE CALENDAR FESTIVALS

[177] The Ch'uan Miao use the lunar calendar like the Chinese from whom they have probably learned it. There are normally twelve months in the year but sometimes thirteen. The month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Ch'uan Miao are becoming acquainted with the western calendar.

787 As among the Chinese, there are twelve creatures with reference to whom lucky and unlucky days are determined. These are the rat, the cow or water-buffalo, the tiger, the hare, the dragon, the snake, the horse, the sheep or goat, the monkey, the cook;[1] the dog and the pig. The hours, days, months and years are controlled by these creatures in succession. The lucky creatures are the cow or water-buffalo, the dragon, the dog, the pig, the sheep or goat, the horse, and the cock. The unlucky are the monkey, the rat, the snake, the hare and the tiger. The days, months and years controlled by the unlucky creatures are unlucky and those controlled by the lucky creatures are lucky. Important journeys should not be begun, sales made or projects started on unlucky days. But engagements should be made on dog and on dragon days, and burials on snake or on rabbit days. The souls of animals are sometimes commemorated in the eleventh moon on cow days.

The seasonal or calendar festivals are as follows:—

796 **The first day of the first moon,** or New Year's Day. New leaves of the tea tree are used to symbolize the fact that the new year has come and tea is made from these leaves. Biscuits or *pa pa* 粑粑 are made of rice, corn, or some other kind of grain and bean curd is cooked. After offering these things to the deceased ancestors, with sweetmeats, the descendants have a family meal at which they eat the same things. The ancestors must be invited to this meal.

The second day of the first moon. On this day the ancestors rest. There are no ceremonies of commemoration and no offerings, although the ancestors are regarded as present. The living play and enjoy themselves.

[1] [sic --Analyst]

The third day of the first moon. The same edibles are offered to the ancestors as on the first day after which there is a family meal at which the same things are eaten. Then the ancestors are ceremoniously sent away to the level land of Ntsə. That is, they are sent away with kind and respectful words and sometimes imitation paper money is burnt for the use of the ancestors in Hades.

The fifteenth day of the first moon. The wife may visit her parents on this day. Wine, cooked rice and pork or some other kind of meat are offered to the ancestors, after which the family has a meal at which the same things are eaten. At this festival the ancestors must be invited to come.

The third day of the third moon. Many visit the graves on this day and make offerings to the ancestors. It is fitting for young brides to visit their parents at this time. At this festival the deceased ancestors must be invited to come and enjoy the feast.

The fifth day of the fifth moon, the *tuan yang* 端陽 festival. Weddings are likely to occur on this day and the ancestors are commemorated as on New Year Day. Offerings are made, and the ancestors must be invited to come and to partake, after which there is the usual family meal in which the same things are eaten as have been offered to the ancestors.

The ceremony of tasting new grain. After the rice and corn have ripened and often before it is harvested, there is a ceremony called *shang hsin* 嘗新 or "taste new." Nobody will eat the new grain until this ceremony has been performed. Each home fixes the date as it pleases regardless of other families. Some of the new grain is picked and offered, with vegetables, meat and wine, to the ancestors, after which there is a family meal. Formerly a certain kind of green bird had to be killed and offered up at this festival but now it is no longer necessary. The idea seems to be that before the living can eat any of the new grain some of it must be offered to the ancestors.

The thirteenth day of the seventh moon. On this day the ancestors return without being invited. They are offered wine, rice, corn, pork, chicken and vegetables, after which there is the usual family meal. Paper or spirit money is burnt as an offering, which was not formerly done.

The fifteenth day of the eighth moon. The same offerings are made as on the thirteenth day of the seventh moon, including paper money, but the ancestors must be invited to come and to partake. This is the Chinese *chung ch'iu* 中秋 festival.

The ninth day of the ninth moon. The offerings are the same as on the fifteenth day of the eighth moon and the

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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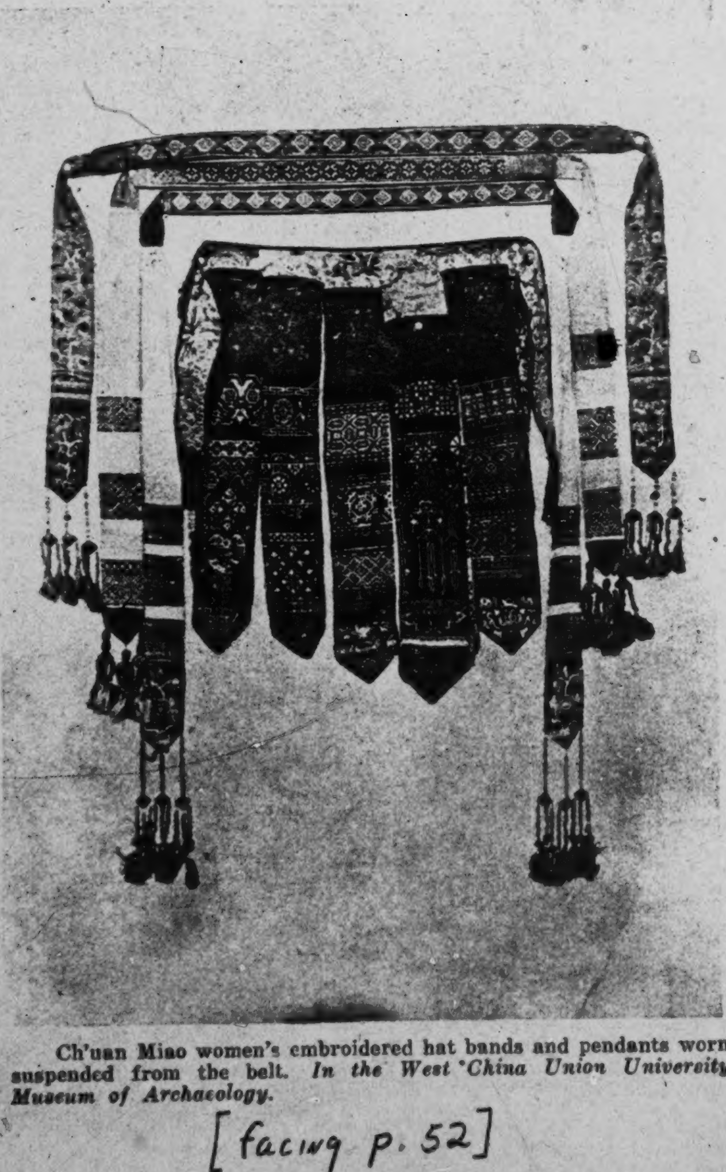

Ch'uan Miao women's embroidered hat bands and pendants worn suspended from the belt. *In the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

[facing p. 52]

796 tirteenth day of the seventh moon and there is a similar family meal. The ancestors must be invited to come.

The first day of the tenth moon. The ancestors must be invited to come. Biscuits, called *pa pa* in Chinese, are made of rice or some other grain. They are first offered to the ancestors and then they are eaten by the family. No other food or drink is offered or eaten.

The thirtieth day of the twelfth moon. At this time the ancestors are welcomed back home. A stone is sometimes heated red hot, then placed outside the front door and water poured on it. Biscuits and tea are offered to the ancestors then wine and later rice and meat, but no vegetables. Beef, pork, and chicken can be used. After these have been offered to the ancestors, there is the usual family meal in which the same things are eaten.

It should be noted that these calendar festivals correspond very closely to those of the Chinese in West China and that the commemorating of and making of offerings to the deceased ancestors is the primary concern in all of them.

VII. THE LANGUAGE

[193] 194 The language of the Ch'uan Miao is monosyllabic and tonal. The verb follows the subject and the object the verb, but the adjective follows the noun. Instead of saying the black dog it is customary to say the dog black.

Among the sounds to be distinguished are the aspirate and the nonaspirate, the French *j*, the dental *t*, the nasal *n*, the Welsh *l* and an uvular *g*. An initial *n* or *m* before other consonants is more common than in most other languages. For instance, the word nts'ao means grass and mbu means pig. One distinction of sound is nothing else than a stronger emphasis in pronouncing the word or sound. For instance, the word ma meaning have is pronounced with the ordinary stress but the words ma for buy and ma for sell must be pronounced with a greater stress of voice.

It is commonly believed that the language has five tones. The fact is that it has nine tones. The first tone is high, and the voice is kept level. The second tone is the lowest, and is also level. Their difference in tone is about one octave. The third tone begins at one and descends almost to two. The fourth begins at the second and ascends almost to one. The fifth is half-way between one and two and corresponds to the Chinese fifth tone. The sixth begins at five and descends to two. The seventh is about half-way between five and one and is pronounced with a slightly greater stress of voice than the others. The eighth begins at five and ascends to one. The ninth is about half-way between five and two, is level, 194 and is the most common and difficult to distinguish.[16]

The Chinese language in West China has four tones with five in some localities but in some parts of Fukien, Kwangtung and Kwangsi the language spoken has eight or nine tones. There are Ch'uan Miao legends which indicate that they came to Szechwan from Kwangtung or Kwangsi.

193 During recent centuries, the Ch'uan Miao language, like their customs, has been greatly influenced by the Chinese. 177 Take, for instance, the comparative and the superlative of adjectives and adverbs. To make the comparative the word 192 xau is spoken before the positive. To make the superlative the word xʌn is spoken after the comparative.

Thus:

positive		*comparative*		*superlative.*	
ʒ‘ɔ	good	xao ʒoɔ	better	ʒcɔ xʌn	best
ʃʌu	poor	xao ʃʌu	poorer	ʃʌu xʌn	poorest
ju·	small	xao ju·	smaller	ju· xʌn	smallest
lo·	large	xao lo·	larger	lo· xʌn	largest

The word xao is evidently the Chinese word xao 好, *hao* for food which may be used in Chinese in the sense of very and the word xʌn is the Chinese word xʌn 很, *hên* for both the pronunciation and the tones are exactly the same in the Ch'uan Miao and in the Chinese languages. It is significant that the Ch'uan Miao cannot express the comparative and the superlative without the use of Chinese words.

There is a goodly nucleus of Ch'uan Miao words that 192 are non-Chinese and which are to be found in various Miao dialects in Kweichow, Yunnan and even in Tongkin. There 177 are also many words that are evidently of Chinese origin. The Chinese word for chair is *i³ tzu³* 椅子. The Ch'uan Miao word is i² tzŭ³ ʒ̇i tsə or i· tsə. The Chinese word for man in Szechwan is zʌn 人 and the Ch'uan Miao word is nʌn. A very common Ch'uan Miao word for love is nia and the Chinese is *ngai* 愛 (*ai*). Occasionally a Chinese word that has been adopted is given a slightly different pronunciation and a different tone.

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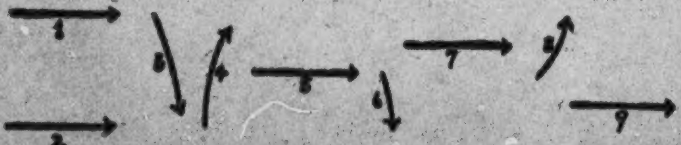
194 [16] The following diagram may help to distinguish Ch'uan Miao tones.



VIII. LEGENDS

538 It has already been stated that much of the history and folklore of the Ch'uan Miao has been put into verse from and is sung or chanted by the men and women on various occasions so that they are handed down as songs from generation to generation. There are of course some legends that are not in verse form and are not sung and much of the past history of the group has been lost, but there seems to be no poetry among these people that is not sung or chanted.

It is a well-known fact that the stories spread from group to group and that some stories have spread over most of the world. No doubt some of the Ch'uan Miao legends and stories have been learned from other cultural groups, but many have originated among the Ch'uan Miao themselves. There are old men and women who know hundreds of these legends and songs and gladly teach them to younger people. It is said, however, that many of the young folk are not learning them so that in a few generations they may be forgotten. This will be a real loss for they reflect the history, experiences, customs, ideals, and presuppositions of the people.

538 123 Among the great variety of songs and legends one is historical. There are occasionally to be found in these stories bits of history that have not been recorded in any book. One story tells of the final defeat of the Miao in Kiangsi Province. According to this legend, the Chinese then had guns and cannon. I myself heard the old Ch'uan Miao sing this legend and took it down sentence by sentence as it was translated into Chinese for me by a Ch'uan Miao friend. Those who sang and translated the song knew very little about Kwangtung and Kiangsi Provinces. Another legend tells of a forced migration to Szechwan with their hands tied behind their backs. Still another tells of the settlement of the first Ch'uan Miao at Wang Wu Chai 王武寨. Going farther back into history, there are legends that indicate that their ancestors lived in a land where there were Chinese and also camels; this land surely must have been in North China. There are legends that say, "My ancestors lived in a hot southern climate," and describe conditions that point to a land in the south beyond the frontiers of China. There are stories that reflect conditions in a late neolithic age, or at least an age before metal was in common use, as for instance the story of the man who killed a bear by striking it with a stone axe. One very interesting story tells how monkeys lost their tails by sitting on them and so gradually became men.

The legend about the defeat of the Miao by the Chinese in Kwangtung is as follows:—

"The heavens are empty, the earth is small. The Chinese arose and fought us Miao. When we heard this evil news, when the Chinese reached Kwangtung, they brought cannon and guns and we were much afraid. When they had conquered Kiangsi, the Miao T'ien Ho 天火 (fire from heaven) blew his bugle, and Earth Fire 地火 took up his sword and curved bows and mustered soldiers as far as the horizon. The Chinese in attacking the Miao towns fought rapidly, attacking quickly, and even chickens and dogs were frightened. The Miao soldiers went and fought them but the Chinese broke open the Miao cities. The Chinese soldiers, when they saw the Miao soldiers covering the surrounding hills, were unable to hold back the Miao soldiers and fled and took refuge on the cliffs. The Chinese used a trick, making boats and chariots, filling them with soldiers, and came again to fight the Miao. The Miao were then defeated. The Chinese took possession of the Miao land and ordered the Miao to make them three thousand bows and arrows. The Miao could not oppose them and took refuge in caves."

It is not impossible that the migration of the Ch'uan Miao to Szechwan occurred under Yung Chêng 雍正 about the year 1733.

There is a legend that seems to imply a blood relationship between the Chinese and the Miao. It states that originally the Chinese and the Miao were one family. They were two brothers. The Miao was the older, the more powerful and the more respected brother and the Chinese was the younger. The parents died and were buried. The brothers separated and lost all trace of each other. They both commemorated their ancestors at the same grave but at different times so that they did not meet. The younger brother, the Chinese, worshipped later in the year, so that the older brother noticed that somebody was worshipping at the grave of his parents. "Who is doing this and for what reason?" he asked. Then he began to watch and caught the younger brother. A disagreement ensued. They did not recognize each other so each blamed the other for worshipping at his ancestral grave. Instead of fighting, they went to law about it. The official asked the Miao, "What evidence have you that this is your ancestral grave?" He replied, "I have buried a millstone a certain distance to the right of the grave." He asked the younger brother the same question. He answered, "I have buried a brass gong a certain distance to the left of the grave." The official sent men to dig and found both the millstone and the gong. Then it became known that the two men were brothers. But in the centuries that followed the descendants of the two brothers grew apart and forgot their common ancestry so that the Chinese have forgotten it altogether. Moreover, the Chinese descendants have become more and more powerful and numerous so that the Miao are now the younger and weaker brothers and the Chinese are the older and stronger brothers.

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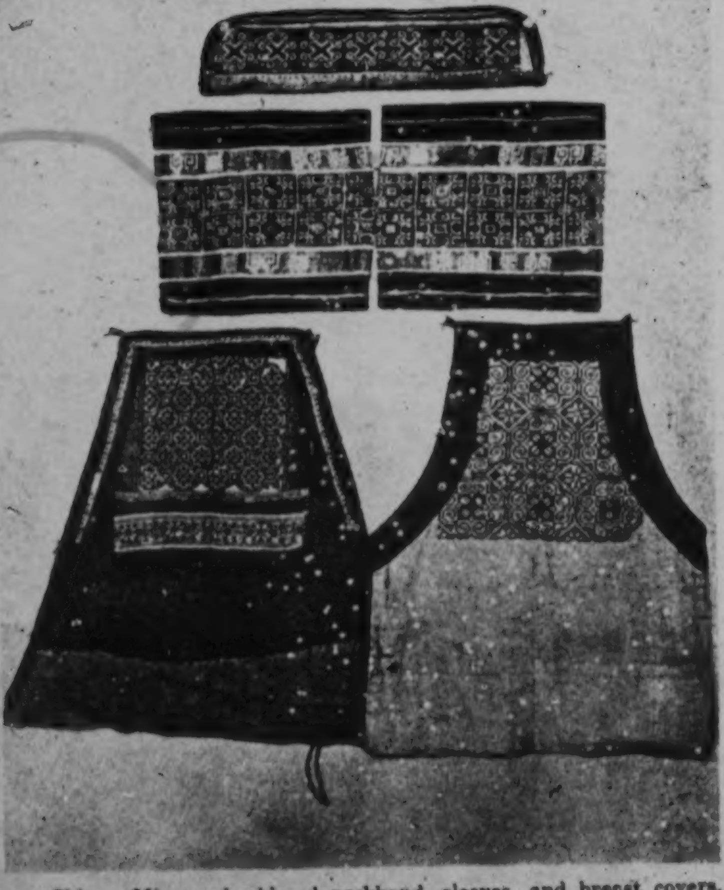

Ch'uan Miao embroidered neckband, sleeves, and breast covers, *in the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology*

[facing p. 56]

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There is a variation of this legend which states that when the two brothers first separated they took a brass gong and broke it in two, each brother burying his piece near the grave. Later, at the official investigation, the two parts fitted together, proving their common ancestry.

The Ch'uan Miao trace their ancestry to a female ancestor called Na Bo Hmo Ntsə or the Miao mother named Ntsə.

One legend is that of P'an Ku 盤古, a great superman who with his hammer and chisel carved out the sky and the earth. The Chinese also have this legend and it is a question whether the Miao learned it from the Chinese or the Chinese from the Miao. An interesting fact is that this was not a creation of original materials but a shaping of the sky and the earth out of substances that already existed.

Savina found among the Miao of Tongkin the Biblical story of the flood, the tower of Babylon, the confusion of tongues, and a migration across northern Asia, finally reaching Tongkin. I have always suspected that the Miao of Tongkin learned these stories in recent times from Christian sources. I have not found the slightest trace of them among the Ch'uan Miao.

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The story of the flood as I have learned it from Ch'uan Miao friends is as follows. Two brothers were hoeing a piece of land in order to plant a crop. Every morning when they returned to the field they found the soil turned back as it had been before they began work. One night, they kept watch to see who was doing this and saw an old man come onto the field and begin turning the soil back. When they asked for an explanation, the old man said, "It is useless for you to plant a crop. The world will be flooded and all the crops will be ruined and all the people will be drowned." Then they went and asked ʒ̇e sʌu what to do about it. He advised each of them to make a large tub or barrel and to get into it when the flood arose. So the younger brother made a wooden tub and the older brother made one of iron. When the rains descended and the floods came, each brother got into his tub. The iron tub sank and the older brother was drowned but the wooden tub floated and so the younger brother was saved.

There is a variation of this story by which a brother and a sister were saved from the flood. There were no other people on earth, but they were brother and sister and had the same name, so it was not right for them to marry. They made three tests which finally proved to their satisfaction that it was the will of Ntsə that they should marry. One of these tests was the rolling of two round stones from opposite sides of a gulch or canyon. Their stopping together was a proof of the will of Ntso that they should marry. Savina says that in the legend as he received it, it was not

538 773 clear whether the two stones were two round pieces of a stonegrinder or not. The Ch'uan Miao assured me that they were not two round pieces of a stone grinder but merely two round stones and that they rolled down from opposite hill-or mountain-sides, the opposite sides of a canyon.

Another kind of legend is that which gives an explanation for Ch'uan Miao customs. There are many of them and not a few of the customs here described were first learned about in a legend. As an illustration I will tell the story of the origin of raising chickens.

A man was walking through the woods. A pheasant flew out cackling and the man found some pheasant chicks. These he took home and fed and gradually they became very tame and grew up as pets. The family liked them so much that they did not kill them and eat them. When these chicks grew up they laid eggs and hatched out more chicks which in turn grew up. This family gave some of the fowl to other families and gradually people learned to raise chickens.

538 837 There are many love songs or songs that relate the experiences of lovers, for the Ch'uan Miao have had their share of Romeos and Juliets. Some of these songs tell of love between men and their wives or between men and women whom they love and wish to marry, but probably ninety percent of the love songs tell of love affairs between married men and women who are not their wives or between married women and men who are not their husbands, or between unmarried people who do not expect to get married, and in nearly all of these cases it is stated or implied that there was sexual intercourse between them. It seems to be assumed that love between the sexes will result in sexual intercourse and the pure love song that plays such a large part in the literature of the world is hard to find.

IX. RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

771 In my opinion the Ch'uan Miao are a very religious people, but they have no religious organization, no images of gods, and no temples. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and through their religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a satisfying life in which the basal needs of food, sex, protection or security, and play and amusement are satisfied. Two of the fundamentals in the Ch'uan Miao religion are belief in demons which cause disease and other calamities and for whose exorcism ceremonies are required, and the ancestral cult with its ceremonial offerings and commemoration.

823 I can hardly affirm that the Ch'uan Miao believe that the world is flat. The untutored Miao does not know that the world is round, but he sees and climbs and farms so many hills and cliffs and mountains that he regards the world as only comparatively flat. The world has an end somewhere, but he has no conception of its size.

772 Above the sky, or rather on it, is a level land where the souls remain after death with the souls of their ancestors. This paradise is Ntsə ni lʌu Gʌu bi or the level land of Ntsə. There are no hills to climb and there is neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day. Although there are no rainstorms there is no lack of moisture. Those who live there do not farm but find in the forests such things to eat as berries and fruit, as people are supposed to have done on earth in very ancient times. They are given food, clothing and money by their descendants through the memorial and calendar festivals. It is a good place to live in but not as good as this world. There is a ladder to the sky, but ordinarily mortals cannot go up. Some have swooned away and returned and related to their friends what they saw in the level land of Ntsə.

Under this earth there is another world inhabited by dwarfs. These are called in Chinese *sao pa jên* 掃把人 or broom people, because they are as tall as small Chinese brooms or about two feet high. They farm and have their own king, soldiers and government. They live very much as people on this earth, but they have much smaller houses, farms, etc. One Miao fell into dwarfland through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace, and later came back to the earth through a crack in the ground caused by a drought. When rain finally came, the ground swelled and closed up the crack.

In a special region dragons live or at least the king of dragons lives there. Other stories are told of fishermen who hooked the king of dragons or other dragons with fishhooks in rivers and creeks. To reach the palace of the dragon king it is always necessary to go down through pools of water. When the palace is reached, everything is normal and dry.

There is a special region where demons live where it is always dark. People rarely go there although certain legends describe it.

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775 The Chinese idea of three principal souls or *hun* 魂 and seven lesser souls or *p'o* 魄 is accepted by these people. The *hun* are called in Ch'uan Miao pl'ei and the *p'o* are called *mpl'o.* Of the three principal souls, one remains in the tomb, one goes to Ntsə's level country. One stays among the beams under the roof of the house. On the other hand, one is supposed to be reincarnated. The ideas of reincarnation and of the three *hun* and seven *p'o* were learned evidently from the Chinese; my impression is that they have not been well assimilated.

The soul, if we may speak of it in the singular, is about 774 the size of a person. It is not flesh, but shadowy. It is generally invisible but not invariably so. Some say that if a person is good his soul is larger and that if he is evil his soul is smaller. The soul does not sleep when a person sleeps. It may wander away and if it does not return the person dies. All birds, animals, and many inanimate things have souls. These include trees, rocks, rivers, and mountains.

The shadow is a vital part of a human being. If a mad dog bites a man's shadow, it will kill him. It is worse for a man's shadow to be bitten or cut with a knife than for his body to be bitten or cut. Many of the Ch'uan Miao identify one's shadow with his soul. Therefore at night they place the lamps on low tables or stools so that the souls or shadows will be large and frighten away the demons. Some think the souls are small after death so that they must climb up into bowls in order to eat or drink.

The Ch'uan Miao sometimes find it difficult to say that rocks, trees, mountains, and such things have souls, and find it more natural to say that they have lives, are intelligent, have eyes, and can see. But some assert that the life and the soul are the same. In offering the sacrificial animal, a life must be given and the life becomes a living animal in the world of spirits. It seems to me that the life idea was probably held by the Ch'uan Miao before the Chinese idea of three major and seven lesser souls was absorbed.

The doctrine of transmigration, and its attendant theory 775 of cause and effect as influencing rebirth into this world, seem to be assumed and believed. But I have been unable to find much evidence that they have any considerable influence on the thinking and living of these people. Ch'uan Miao friends have told me that cause and effect, or *yin kuo* 因果, are among the things that they regard as living and that it is generally assumed that the dead person will be reborn into this world as a human being.

Demons are the souls of people, of birds and animals, of 776 mountains, and of other kinds of inanimate things. If a person has no descendants to care for him, or if his descendants are unfilial and do not pay proper respect to him and do not offer him the necessary food, clothing, money, etc., then he may become a demon. Demons inhabiting rivers and creeks are the souls of people who have been drowned and who try to drown others. The demons of people who have hanged themselves try to cause others to do likewise. Some demons living in caves harm people; these develop from the vapor within the caves. (Probably this idea was caused by the presence of poisonous gases in caves).

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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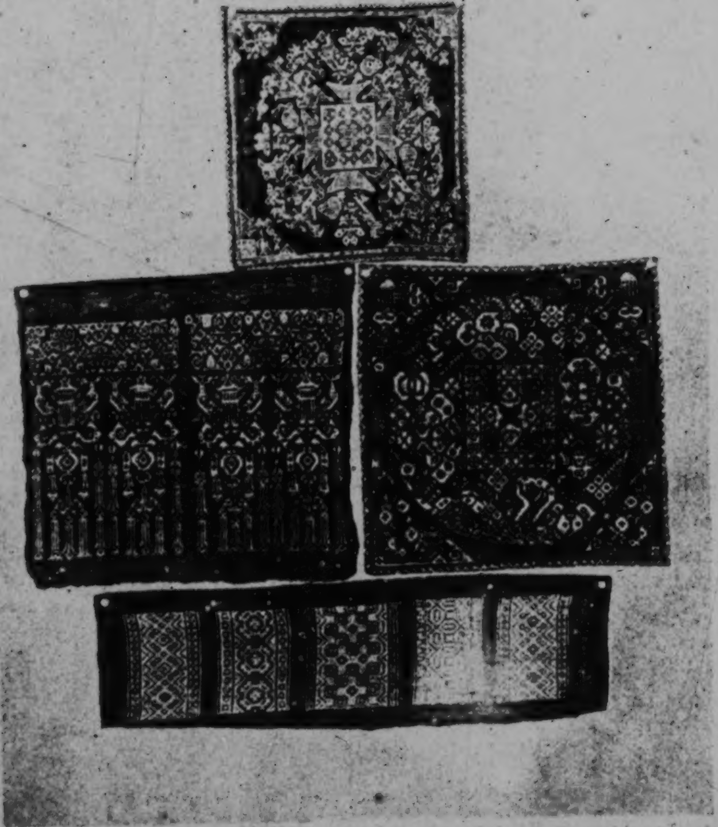

Ch'uan Miao embroidery—a halbard, two handkerchiefs, and an apron cloth—In the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology*

[facing p. 60]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 Demons that are human souls are called glaŋ but the demons that are the souls of cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, pigs, cats, dogs, chickens and ducks are called ts'ao. These appear in the forms of the creatures whose souls they are. They injure people, often causing babies to die. There is a demon that comes out of caves that is called a bo tsao. It may change into creatures that eat people or cause pains and sickness. Mountain demons are called glaŋ To or glaŋ bi and sometimes cause people to die. What is called in Chinese a *yao ch'i* 妖氣 or a *ching ch'i* 精氣 is the demon of a snake, a frog, or a toad, etc.

[191] When a person is crazy or speaks in a meaningless or a silly way, it is called glaŋ lo or demon talk. It is thought that the person is possessed by a demon and that the demon is speaking through him.

The gods or idols of the Chinese are regarded as demons and are called glaŋ mjao. The first word means demon but the Ch'uan Miao do not know the meaning of the second word. It seems to me that it must have come from the Chinese word for temple 廟 so that the phrase might mean "demon in the Chinese temple." Here we have a parallel to what happened in ancient times in Persia and in India. The two branches of the Aryan race became enemies and with the two hostile people the gods of one became the demons of the other.

[525] The Ch'uan Miao believe that a person should not kill too many wild animals. If he does, their souls will become demons and will avenge themselves by killing him. There was a family of famous hunters named Hsiung. The father with the dogs was driving the game out of the woods. A son was waiting to shoot the game on a path where they were likely to come. He thought his father was a wild boar and shot him dead. It was thought that the souls of the animals they had killed had caused this to happen.

776 551 In the minds of the Ch'uan Miao, as shown by their legends and confirmed by their own statements, people may change easily into tigers, cows, fish, foxes, snakes, rats, crabs, frogs, banana trees and vines, and from these back into persons. People most commonly turn into tigers. Those whose names are Wang in Chinese and Tang in Ch'uan Miao T'ao in Chinese and glo or black in Ch'uan Miao and to some extent those whose names in Chinese are Chang, frequently change into tigers and back again into human beings, but it is less common for others to do so unless a witch, called in Ch'uan Miao bo [754] ntsong, bewitches them. She changes men into tigers and women into witches like herself; these bewitch others in the same way. She and the women she has bewitched may look like human beings or may be invisible and more or less frameless.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 A tiger often changes into a good person. A woman who has changed into a tiger is called in Chinese a *lao pien p'o* 老變婆 or an old woman who changes. She looks like a dead person or is formless and invisible. Or she may look like a visible woman but when she thinks of being transformed into a demon she smiles and when she thinks of being transformed into a human being she weeps. She goes in front of a tiger to make a way for him and if a trap or a trap-gun is set to injure the tiger she removes it so the tiger will not be hurt. The first son of a family named T'ao, Wang or Chang can change easily into a tiger and the first daughter can 776 change easily into a *lao pien p'o*. A fox can assume the form of a man and entice a woman to sexual intercourse. After- 753 wards the woman has pains and develops spots where the skin dries up. If she is not cured, she gradually dies and changes 755 into a fox. A very large snake called in Chinese a *mang she* 蟒蛇 may transform itself into a man or a woman and entice a person to have sexual relations with him or her. The result is that the person pines away and dies unless a *tuan kung* 端公 can overcome the snake and save the person. The supposed snake may be killed and its liver given the patient to eat; this cures him. Imagination and suggestion probably have a great deal to do with such sicknesses and cures. Banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, and eels may also change into human form and entice a human being to sexual intercourse with the result that the person becomes ill and dies unless saved by the help of the *tuan kung*.

There are god-like beings that are believed in by the 776 Ch'uan Miao but who are not formally worshipped. The greatest god is Ntsə. He controls the heaven and the earth but lives in the sky. The paradise to which the souls of the dead go, as we have seen, is the level land of Ntsə. A Miao told me that Ntsə is the very highest, the ultimate, and that he is everywhere, can be in the lowest place and is compassionate and most powerful.

Ntsə sometimes sends his daughter to succor poor and unfortunate men. This has been noted by Savina in his book on the Miao of Tongkin. Sometimes she becomes, at least temporarily, the man's wife.

Another name, Ntsə Njonŋ LΛu, means god, foundation, old. One can imagine easily that it means Ntsə the foundation of the universe. Some Ch'uan Miao identify Ntsə Njong LΛu with Ntsə but in the minds of others it is not very clear.

Another deity-like being is Yei SΛu or z̊ei SΛu. He is very intelligent, never dies, is very kindly and merciful, is just, induces people to do good deeds and helps people who are in trouble, especially the poor. He is sometimes seen among the clouds and can easily make himself invisible.

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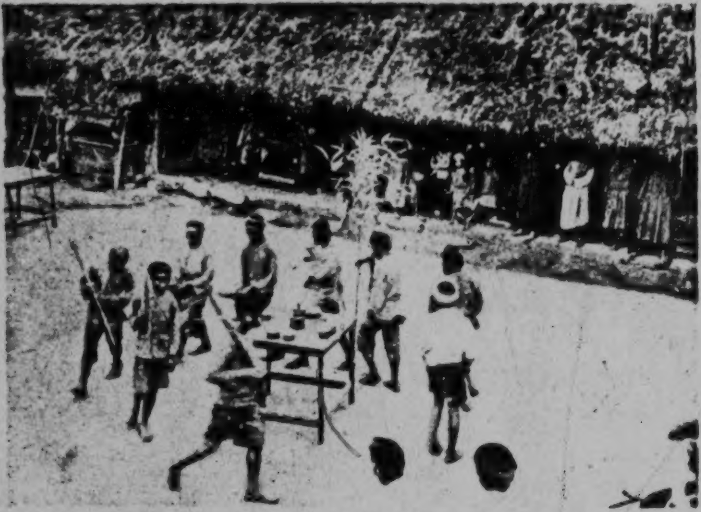

Part of a Ch'uan Miao funeral ceremony. The bamboo twig is symbolic of ancient times when their ancestors lived in dense forests in which there were many wild animals.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

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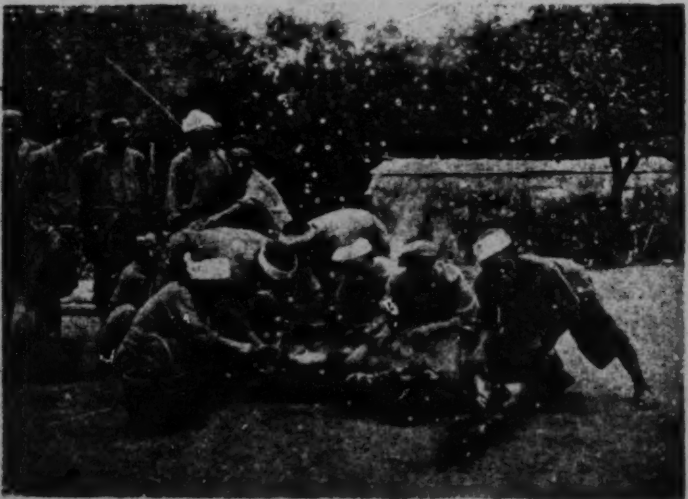

Ch'uan Miao men skinning the sacrificial animal to be offered to the deceased and then eaten as a part of a funeral ceremony.

[facing p.62] *Photo by D. C. Graham.*

Among the Ch'iang 羌 there is a mediator between A-ba-ch'i or the Father in Heaven and the priest, called Njei Dsu or Njei Su, which is much like the Nestorian word for Jesus. Rev. J. Huston Edgar told me that among the Tibetans there is a similar name for a similar being. The Ch'uan Miao name Yei SΛu or ʒ̊ei SΛu is not a great deal different from the Chinese name for Jesus, Yeh Su 耶穌. It is not impossible that the Njei Dsu or the Njei Su of the Ch'iang and the Yei SΛu or ʒ̊ei SΛu of the Ch'uan Miao may both be a dim and not too distinct tradition of Jesus that has come down from the distant past from the Nestorians, the Manichaeans, the Buddhists, or even the early Catholics. But the Ch'uan Miao had no idea of connecting the tradition of Yei SΛu or ʒ̊ei SΛu with Jesus until I suggested it to them. A slightly different pronunciation sometimes met among [illegible] Ch'uan Miao is ʒ̊ε SΛu in which ʒ̊ε means an old man and SΛu means an immortal.

It is asserted that formerly the dragon was fierce and ate people, but that now he is regarded as harmless and benevolent. This change is probably due to Chinese influence. The dragon king is often mentioned in the legends. He lives in a palace and is reached by going down through a pool of water. He causes it to rain. He often sends a daughter to help and save an unfortunate man, especially an orphan or a person who is very poor and she generally becomes his wife, at least temporarily.

There is a young woman who lives in the sky, who is called in Ch'uan Miao, Ts'ï Ma Niang Tsai. She is very compassionate and especially shows mercy to and helps unfortunate children.

The witch, Bo Ntsong, who has already been mentioned, changes men into tigers and women into witches like herself.

There is a warty toad, called in Chinese *lai ke pao* 癩格包 who causes hailstorms. People shoot off guns during hailstorms to scare the toad and cause it to cease, and this of course stops the hailstorms.

In some homes a family god symbolizes the ancestors. He is represented by some spirit money which the *tuan kung* 端公 pastes up in center of the rear of the main room, sprinkling some chicken blood on it. It is an imitation of the Chinese god or *chia shên* 家神 on which are inscribed the words *t'ien ti chün ch'in shih wei,* 天地君親師位

The high respect in which the deceased ancestors are held has already been noted and the memorial services briefly described. The Ch'uan Miao assert that their departed ancestors are not gods but honored and loved human beings who are revered and to whom offerings are made.

Certain trees are worshipped on the thirteenth day of the
778 twelfth lunar month. Generally the tree is on a hill or mountain
and it is always an old tree that does not shed its leaves
782 in the winter time, such as the *nan mu* 楠木. It may not be
a fir or a pine. A cock is offered in the worship of the tree
which is a sort of a local deity something like the Chinese
local god called a *t'u ti* 土地. It is worshipped with the belief
that as a result the crops will prosper, the domestic animals
[755] will grow and increase, and hunters will be successful in the
killing of wild animals. The tree is believed to heal sickness,
but only when a vow is made to offer a chicken and other
things if the person is healed.

The Ch'uan Miao, like the Hua Miao, have a cult of worshipping the door. At the bottom of the door is a thick wide board or sill which one must step over in order to enter the house. It is this sill and the door itself, which often has two wings, which are worshipped.

The ceremony must be performed during the tenth moon.
A pig is killed inside the house and offered to the door. The
hair is removed, then the pig is cut into nine pieces and
264 offered raw wth wine and rice. Then the meat is cooked.
Before the people can eat, some soup must be dipped out with
262 a gourd and offered to the door. Then the meat is divided
and the guests enjoy a feast. The blood must be boiled and
eaten.

The offering is made by the head of the family. He says, "Door, I am making an offering to you. Help us have a good crop and prosper financially and the domestic animals grow and increase. If people come, permit them, but if demons come do not let them enter." There is no kowtowing or bowing. No incense or candles are lighted and no spirit money burnt. During the ceremony the door must be closed. The pig must be killed and the whole ceremony performed inside. The offal and the hair must be buried in a hole in the floor of the kitchen. If one word of Chinese is accidentally used, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

During the marriage ceremonies offerings are generally
[585] made to the soil and to the ancestors who first gave grain to
776 the Miao. These are regarded and treated practically as
deities. There are two great demons or devils, and possibly
782 three. glaŋ dʒy often drowns people in creeks and rivers.
He seems to be related to the Chinese river demons who are
the demons of people who are drowned themselves and who
try to drown others so as to escape from their demon state.
Some say that dʒy means original and that glaŋ dʒy means
original demon.

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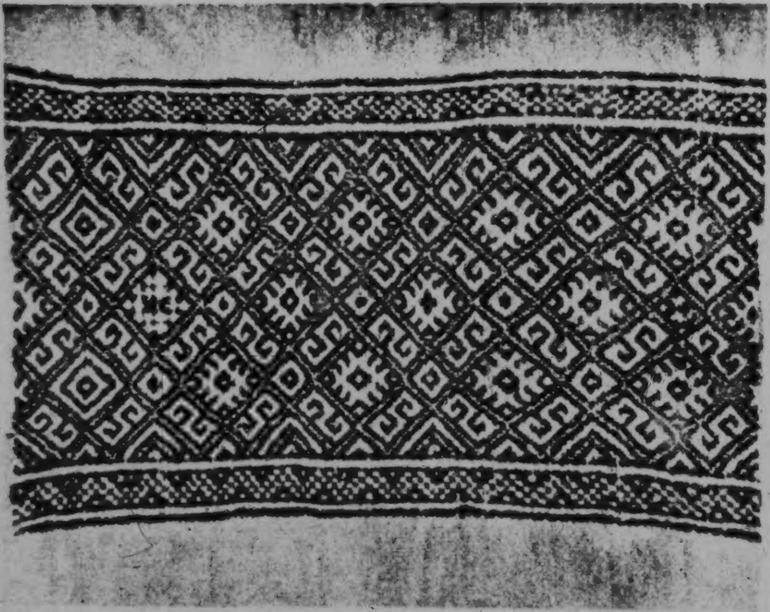

A Ch'uan Miao embroidery pattern, a duplicate of which Dr. Carl Schuster has found among the Rumanians.

[facing p. 64]

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782
Glaŋ ta lo, the demon who can step to the sky, is so large that he can step across from one mountain top to another. He can reach heaven at one step. He is very strong and if he strikes a person on his chest with the palm of his hand the person soon dies and the marks of the demon's palm can be seen on the person's chest. He can kill a person with one blow of his thumb.

There is a sky demon, nTo glaŋ. The Chinese are sometimes told that this is the god *t'ai shan shih kan tang* 泰山石敢當 but the Ch'uan Miao do not really believe that the demon and the Chinese god are the same. A ceremony in which he is worshipped with offerings is as follows:—

The priest, called mo, takes a bamboo food bowl with corn and beans in it, then stands up in the house and sings a memorial chant, and at the same time shaking the bowl and walking about. This brings the demon, after which the sacrifice is offered.

An old sow which has had litters and has been fattened is sacrificed. She is first tied upon two carrying poles. Torches are lighted and carried in the hands. Small boys make bamboo whistles and blow them. The family takes a bowl of water and turns a dipper upside down on the bowl and the dipper is beaten as a drum.

The sow must be carried in a procession around the house two or three times with the torches lighted and the whistles blowing. After this is finished, all call out, "Oh! Oh! Oh!" twelve times. Each time the arms are lifted up toward the sky. This is a ceremonial fighting with a Chinese who wanted the wife of a Miao but it is also to exorcise and drive away the sky demon.

The pig is first wet with cold water, then placed over a big fire, which makes the hair easy to scrape off. After it has been scraped off, the meat is cut up and boiled. After the pork is thoroughly cooked, it is dipped out and offered to the demon, after which it is eaten with biscuits made as follows.

The blood of the pig is mixed with flour and biscuits made of them. These are first offered to the demon and then eaten.

Instead of a table the pork and the biscuits are placed on a wooden bedstead. Seven wooden knives must be made with which to cut the biscuits. The knives are placed on this bed. After the offerings have been made to the demon, he is escorted away with polite words and is supposed to depart.

776 782 After the ceremony, the bed and the knives are carried away and thrown into a cave. It is meant to place them where children cannot go—on sides of cliffs, in caves, etc. It is believed that if anybody touches these objects he will become ill.

791 The person who conducts the memorial ceremonies is called in Chinese *chi shih* 祭司 or priest and in Ch'uan Miao mo or to mo. To is merely a particle like the Chinese word *ko* 個 and the English word piece in "a piece of cloth." The mo is given presents for his services but he is also a farmer and secures much of his livelihood by tilling the soil. He may be a member of the family which is conducting the ceremonies. At funerals he performs a special ceremony calld "opening the way" by which he opens the way of the soul to Hades and at this time he is called a k'a gei. His ceremonies have been described elsewhere.

The *tuan kung* 端公 called in Ch'uan Miao To^{3} nʌn^{6} is the person who exorcises demons, and thus heals diseases and wards off other calamities that are caused by demons. Like the mo, he is a farmer who has learned the ceremonies required and when the occasion arises he is called upon to render his services, for which he is given presents of meat, money, or some other commodity.

[787] By means of cooked rice, or fresh eggs broken open or some other means, he ascertains which demon is causing the trouble and from what direction he came. Then he exorcises the demon.

791 789 It is asserted that a *tuan kung* can take an iron ploughshare, heat it red, then put his tongue against it. In the initiation ceremony already described he walks barefoot on twelve sharp knives which have been arranged on the ground or on the floor. He must walk quickly in order to escape injury. He hangs up some bamboo sticks, then takes hot *t'ung* oil 桐油 into his mouth and blows it onto the bamboo sticks, which have been set afire; this causes a big blaze. It is believed that this fire will not burn a house, even if the roof is made of straw or grass, although it will drive away the demons. He wears ordinary clothes, but puts white or yellowish paper on his head folded so as to resemble a crown and two animal horns. He takes a cock, strikes its comb until it bleeds, then sprinkles the blood on his knives and on his paper decorations. With a tongue-like piece of wood he strikes on the table to frighten the demons in a similar way to Buddhist and Taoist priests and Chinese *tuan kung*. A second person, called a *ma chiao* 馬脚 or horse's foot, acts as his assistant. The *ma chiao* leaps about energetically, striking the ground with an axe to kill demons and finally kills a snake, a frog, a crab, or some other reptile-like creature.

[facing P. 66]

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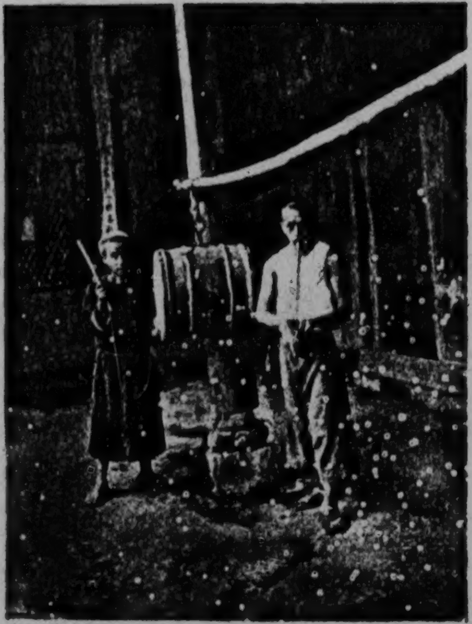

Ch'uan Miao men playing the wind instrument called the gaign or *lu shêng* and beating the ceremonial drum. While they do this they perform a folk dance.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

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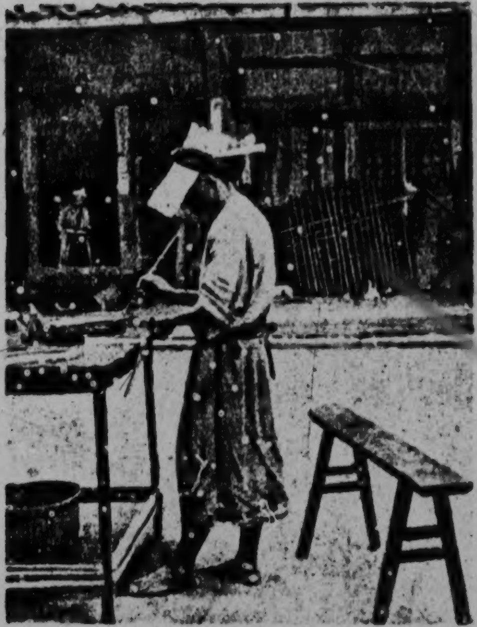

A Ch'uan Miao magician performing a ceremony to exorcise demons.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

791 789 If the creature is small, it is cooked and given the patient to eat. If it is large, its liver is cooked and the patient eats it. Then the patient recovers.

In the summer of 1934 I witnessed a ceremony performed by *tuan kung* and took a moving picture of it. At the side of the yard where the performance took place there was a square table on which the *tuan kung* had arranged a quart measure full of wine in which were nine incense sticks in three bunches, a lighted candle, an iron knife, and a neolithic stone axe. He wore a sort of crown or hat which he had made of light yellow grass paper and which was bound to his head with a cloth head-band or turban. With a pair of scissors he cut some paper or spirit money and then burnt it. For some time, he kept beating a brass gong and repeating incantations. For divining he used a pair of bamboo sprouts cut into halves and an iron seal and a wooden tongue-like object similar to those used by Buddhists, Taoists and Chinese *tuan kung*. He beat the brass gong with a stick wrapped in cloth. 791 796

Later he called in his assistant, the *ma chiao*, who leaped about the yard, striking the ground with his axe while the *tuan kung* occasionally struck the table with his tongue-shaped piece of wood. The *tuan kung* in his incantations ordered the demons to go to Lo Piao, Suifu, Luchow and Chungking.

The ceremony was not carried out to its natural conclusion of killing a snake, crab, frog, or other such creature. This was probably because the *tuan kung* and his *ma chiao* were sensitive of the eyes of the strange foreigner and of some Ch'uan Miao students who giggied at the performance.

In some of his ceremonies the *tuan kung* uses a wide round, flat bamboo winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 and a wooden sword. Often when exorcising demons he makes two horns of paper and wears them on his head. He uses many incantations. Some are in Chinese, some in Ch'uan Miao that can be understood and some in a supposed language that is not understood by ordinary people, which is called gla ɔ lo or demon talk because it is thought to be the language of demons. He sometimes writes charms on paper in imitation of Chinese charms. Because he cannot write Chinsee characters he draws circles and curves in imitation of the Chinese characters. Some of these are hung upon doors to protect the homes from demons, some are placed on the heads of children to protect the children and some are pinned on the backs of older people or on their chests.

I witnessed another ceremony by a *tuan kung* in July, 1936. The different stage of the ceremony were explained as follows.

791 1. Charms were drawn above the water in a porcelain bowl. This was done by moving the fingers above the water in the bowl.

796 2. The hands were then twisted about in several ways.

3. A circular tube was made of paper and set upright in the bowl of water. Then it was lighted and allowed to burn down to the water.

4. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of calling his gods. As a result his gods came and assisted him in his ceremonies.

5. The *yin yang kua* 陰陽卦 were thrown until a favorable result was secured. This was a means of consulting the gods.

6. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of going down into Hades.

7. The demons were invited to come or were enticed or escorted into a large round winnowing basket called a *po chi*.

8. The demons were ceremonially exorcised or driven away.

9. The *ma chiao* caught and killed the demon who was causing the disease.

The implements of the *tuan kung* were,

1. A small brass circle, hollow inside. There were small metal objects inside the circle that caused it to jingle when shaken.

2. A knife.

3. An iron implement, a circle with an iron handle and with several small circles around the larger one. This jingles when used and is exactly like the one used by a Chinese *tuan kung*.

4. A wooden *ling p'ai* 令牌, tongue-shaped, with charms carved on both sides of it. This is also like the one used by the Chinese *tuan kung* and by Buddhist and Taoist priests.

5. An iron seal on which there are Chinese characters. It is also exactly like those used by Chinese *tuan kung* and priests.

791 6. A pair of scissors used for cutting spirit money etc.

177 7. A pair of *yin yang kua* made of the two halves of a bamboo root. This is used for divining and is like those used by Chinese priests.

8. A neolithic stone axe, the bottom of which has been ground away and used as medicine.

9. Three sticks of incense and two candles.

10. A *shêng* 升 or quart of rice or corn.

11. A bowl of water.

12. A bowl of wine.

The practices of the Chinese *tuan kung* are very much like those of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*. The *tuan kung* among

791 the Chinese is regarded as heretical and looked down upon,
but the *tuan kung* of the Ch'uan Miao is orthodox and honored.
177 Their practices are so similar that it is natural to suppose
that either the Chinese *tuan kung* and his practices were
borrowed from the Miao or vice-versa. From the fact that
the Chinese *tuan kung* is heretical and is looked down upon
while the opposite is true of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*, it
seems probable that the Chinese was borrowed from the Miao.
But there are many details in the practices of the Ch'uan
Miao *tuan kung* that have evidently been borrowed in recent
times from the Chinese *tuan kung* and possibly through him
from Buddhist and Taoist priests.

There is occasionally met among the Ch'uan Miao a
791 prophet or fortune-teller who is sometimes wrongly confused
with the *tuan kung* for the *tuan kung* does sometimes divine the
787 future by means of the two halves of a bamboo root called
yin yang kua. This fortune-teller is called a so bʌu. So means
first or previously and bʌu means to know or understand.
Such people sometimes live in caves or in houses in the woods.
They say their ancestors are in their homes so they will not
permit anybody to enter. Inside there can often be heard
voices of people talking or laughing or crying. If a person
q os ɐ sǝʌıƃ ʌu a present of meat, a chicken, wine, biscuits,
money, or something else, he will foretell. All Ch'uan Miao
believe in the so bʌu and some fear them.

Divination is practiced by the *tuan kung*. He sometimes receives messages from departed ancestors and from demons. When go-betweens have been called by the boy's parents they kill a chicken to eat and also examine the tongue, the bones, etc; and so divine whether or not the marriage will be lucky. Other methods of divination are through dreams and through lucky and unlucky omens.

828 Whatever is told in a dream is believed to be true. In
addition many things seen in a dream are signs that certain
787 things will happen. If in a dream one sees a person carrying
wood, the next day he will see a poor person; if he sees a
tiger, the next day a rich man will come to visit; if he sees
a bird, he will have a quarrel; if he sees a rat or a monkey,
a house will burn down; if he sees a pig, he will become ill;
if he sees somebody wearing red clothes, he will probably get
hurt; if he sees a fire burning, a house or something else, the
weather will be fair; if he sees a heavy rain wind, his
ancestors are hungry and want him to feed them; if he sees
a water-buffalo, he will become rich; if he sees a horse, somebody will die; if he sees good vegetables, he will become ill
and have to take medicine; if he sees a black snake, a son will
be born; if he sees finger rings or bracelets, or both, or a
tobacco pipe, a son will be born to him; if he sees a big tree
die, or the sun or moon set, or a tree fall, or snow falling, a
parent will probably die.

3

There are many lucky and unlucky omens. It is unlucky for a hen to crow like a rooster, for a large old snake to enter one's house, for a cat or pig belonging to another family to enter one's home, for a bird flying above to drop its offal on one's head. It is lucky for a neighbor's dog to enter one's home. If a person sees an old snake have a passage, he will certainly die. If one sees a rainbow's shadow drinking water (it is believed that when a rainbow appears, it is drinking water) he must not go there and drink that water, or he will become ill. If a dog howls in a mournful way, it is unlucky, for somebody is going to die. There are many more such beliefs. 787

Charms are few, yet they are considered useful. Seven wooden swords are sometimes tied together, marked in parallel lines with charcoal and hung up above the front door or on the ends of wooden beams on the roof of the house to protect it from demons. A nest of hornets or wasps is sometimes hung up above the front door or on a bed. A demon stops to count the cells, which delays him until daylight when the crow of the cock frightens him away—for the crow of a cock frightens away demons. A charm written on paper by a Chinese priest is sometimes used. A neolithic or smooth stone axe may be used as a charm. Sometimes the *tuan kung* takes a piece of paper and strikes it with his fist or with a stone (neolithic) axe, after which it is a charm. 751

Among the Chinese the *yin yang* 陰陽 and the *fêng shui* 風水 are superhuman potencies, corresponding to the mana and the wakanda conceptions among more primitive groups. This superhuman potency is assumed rather than theorized upon by the Ch'uan Miao. It is possessed by god-like creatures such as Ntso, ʈei SΛu, the dragon king, the sky demon, the demon that can step to the sky, the warty toad, etc., and by such persons as the *tuan kung*, the mo, the bo ntsoɔ, and by the demon drum, charms, incantations, the ceremonial crossbow, the *lin p'ai* 令牌, the sword, the seal, etc. The legends indicate that such power was possessed by some fans with which it was possible to fan a person up on a cliff, by feathers which could quickly warm a person or a stroke of which might cut off his head, etc. 776 778

To the Ch'uan Miao all inanimate things are thought to be sensitive and alive. The sun, the moon, the stars, rivers, mountains, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or *yin kuo* 因果 beds, marriage, swords, the harvest crop, the year, the *liu shêng* 六牲, and the sound of the ceremonial drum—all these and many other things are considered to be living things. There is much evidence of this in the legends and it is confirmed by the Ch'uan Miao themselves. 774

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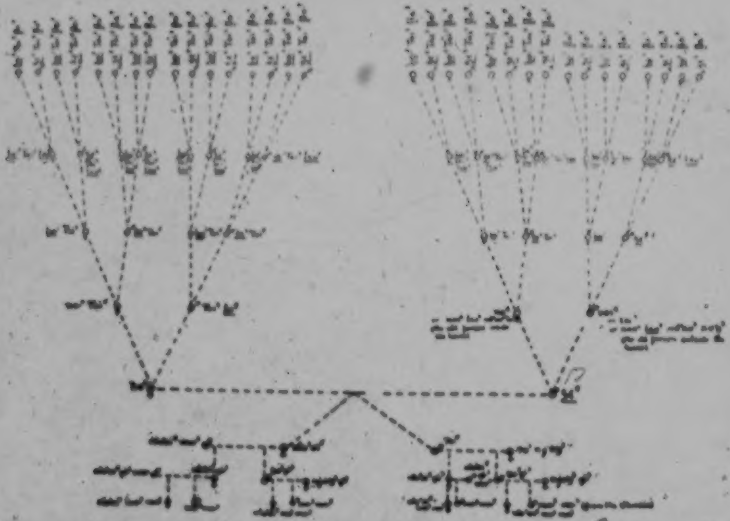

The above diagram gives the names of eight generations of the Ch'uan Miao. The names are those that would be used by the husband, who is called ʒ̇ɛ^{9}, when speaking directly to them. When speaking about them he precedes the terms by ko^{3}, meaning "my". He adds the word na^{4}, "great", before each term when speaking about the relatives of another person. On the right are the names of the husband for his own ancestors, on the left his names for his wife's ancestors. The wife uses the same terms for the husband's ancestors that the husband does. If the husband wishes he may call the ancestors of his wife by the same names as he would his own. Both the husband and the wife call the descendants by the same terms or names. The wife calls her own ancestors by the same names or terms that the husband does his ancestors.

The word lla is pronounced ga in some localities.

[facing p. 70]

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A year is believed to be a living thing with a head like
774 that of a human being. The *liu shêng* is alive and when it
778 is played it is actually speaking. Mountains have heads, feet,
hands, eyes, noses, ears, hearts, breasts, veins and arteries. A plain is male and female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Stones are male and female, grow, have offspring and can speak. Special stones have become immortals. The echo is a living being that can speak. He has a definite character and the words he speaks are generally deceptive. Thunder is a living creature. In size and shape it is like a rooster. It is small but very powerful. Its call or cry is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire which it throws and this is lighting. It is this knife that causes the damage when lightning strikes a person, an animal or a tree.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things are alive or have lives, but they find it difficult to affirm that all inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active and have eyes. Is this animatism or animatism plus animism, or is there no one word that accurately describes it?

• • • • • • • • • • •

The greatest changes in all their history are now taking
177 place among the Ch'uan Miao. In 1921, when I first visited
797 these people, I was unable to find a single school or pupil
among them and the attitude of the Chinese towards the
563 Ch'uan Miao and of the Ch'uan Miao towards the Chinese was
very unfriendly, as it had been for about four thousand years. Now there are under the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung sixteen junior primary Ch'uan Miao schools and one senior primary school. A Ch'uan Miao graduate of the junior middle school at Chaotung is now in the school of nursing of the United Church of Canada Hospital in Chungking and there are two students in the Goucher Junior Middle School of the West China Union University. The Chinese and the Ch'uan Miao have become very friendly and the Chinese officials and scholars are glad to help the Ch'uan Miao. Four students and one graduate of the West China Union University gave the money that makes it possible for one Ch'uan Miao student to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School. The Government of Szechwan has given the Ch'uan Miao school educational books and an organ and the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai Shek have presented to the Ch'uan Miao a fine bull, five fine cockerels, thirty apple trees and some garden seed.

The Ch'uan Miao are not only a very likeable people but they are very appreciative, are industrious, and they are eager for modern education and higher culture. With the continued help of the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung, the West China Union University, Government agencies and the Chinese people, they can become an enlighteed race that will be an asset to China as the Welsh and the Scotch are an asset to the British Empire

116

116 **TEXTS**--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 599

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THE CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

DAVID C. GRAHAM

A. INTRODUCTION TO THE FOLLOWING TRANSLATIONS OF CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

000 Among primitive peoples ceremonies are exceedingly important. They enable the tribes or ethnic groups to face in unity the crises of life, and to solve their difficulties. They bind the individuals into one psychic and emotional unity, causing them to unconsciously absorb the emotions and ideas of the group.

Ceremonials generally come down from a remote past, and are uncritically received and passed on to future generations. Through them one can learn the sentiments, beliefs, and practices of the people among whom they are found.

114 The three translations that follow are of ceremonies of the Ch'uan Miao, one of a To^3 nʌn^6 or magician who exorcises demons and thus heals disease and prevents other calamities, and two of mo^5 or priests who conduct funerals and other memorial ceremonies. They were translated into Chinese by Mr. Hsiung Ts'ao Sung 熊朝嵩, now deceased, and with his assistance, by the writer into English. In this translation an attempt has been made to get back of the Chinese to the meaning in the Ch'uan Miao language, and to render this as faithfully as possible into English.

B. THE CEREMONIES OF CH'UAN MIAO *TUAN KUNG* 端公 TO^3 NʌN^6. THIS WAS ALL SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHENG TS'AI 熊正才 A FARMER OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD WHO LIVED AT WANG WU CHAI NEAR LO PIAO 洛表王武寨. HE HAD ALWAYS LIVED THE NORMAL LIFE OF A CH'UAN MIAO.

I. ARRANGEMENTS TO EXORCISE DEMONS

755 First a table is placed in the room. Incense and candles are lighted. Some vegetables and meat with gravy are used.
789 The *tuan kung* 端公 places a pint of uncooked rice on the table and places a pair of wild ox horns in it. On his head he wears two paper horns. In his left hand he carries a brass gong. In his right he carries the stick with which to beat the gong. At the same time he burns some beeswax.

755

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A. The *tuan kung* stands up and sings, "The yellow wax burns, and the smoke arises. When the wax burns I will call. I will call Ntscɔ jin* (his helper) here to lead. I will call Ntsoɔ jin to come and go ahead. I will call jin tga to come and go ahead. I will call jin tga to come and lead. ɔ a· jin held an iron fan. jin tga held a brass fan in his hand. He fanned himself with the brass fan and thus scattered the demons by the sea. He fanned with an iron fan and thus drove the demon illnesses and groans away."

When he has repeated thus far, he beats the gong loudly.

B. "When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it smokes, the *tuan kung* goes and calls. He calls na· bo· sʌn jin to come to the front. He calls sʌn jin lɛ ts'ə to come to the front. na· bo· sʌn jin carries an iron club in his hand. sʌn jin lɛ ts'ə carries a brass club in his hand. The iron club will beat the demons of illness as the water of the sea scatters. The brass club beats the demons of illness and the demons of groans so that they go to the place where people sleep and scatter."

(At this point the *tuan kung* again beats his gong awhile.)

C. "When the beeswax burns, the incense smokes. When it smokes, I again call. I call nine thousand soldiers to come to the front. He calls upon the soldiers of 900 fortified places to come forward and bring the big guns and shoot them everywhere, and bring the spears and stand them up black (and sharp) and to shoot the big guns with their black smoke. When it looks black, I will call for the soldiers to charge. They will charge against the demons in the forest and the grass of these old people's family, to charge them down to the river on the lower bend, casting them onto the roads, the cliffs and the crossroads."

The *tuan kung* now beats the gongs awhile.

D. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it smokes, we will again come and call. We will call the scholar who controls heaven to come forward. The old scholar who controls heaven to come forward. The old scholar who controls heaven comes and looks. He looks to see if the souls (living) of this family are few or not; to see if the boys of this family are crooked or not; to see if these old people's pool is full or not; to see if the lake of these old people is clean or not. Ntsə's group of controllers of heaven came and looked at the earth; to see if the souls of the living of this family are here or not; to see if the souls of the bodies of this family have returned to their right bodies or not; to see if the souls of these bodies are with their bodies or not. (The *tuan kung* at this time beats the gong awhile.)

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*Note.—Unfortunately the deaths of Hsiung Cheng Ts'ai and Hsiung Ts'ao Sung have made it impossible to check up the tones of the Miao names in this translation, so some of them have been omitted.

E. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will also come (the *tuan kung* will=we). He will call na$^{\cdot 8}$ bo$^{\cdot 9}$ so$^{\cdot 5}$ to come to the front. He will call the thunder god to come to the front. He will call tga$^{\cdot 5}$ Tai^{5} to come to the front (the lightning). We will call ʒ̇e^{5} so$^{\cdot 5}$ and tga^{5} Tai^{5} to come to the front. Bo$^{\cdot 9}$ so$^{\cdot 5}$ came with a stir. ʒ̇ε^{5} so$^{\cdot 5}$ came with a roar. bo$^{\cdot 9}$ so$^{\cdot 5}$ made a stir and came and beat the demons that cause sickness and those that cause groans. ʒ̇ε^{5} so$^{\cdot 5}$ came roaring and shouting and chased away the demons of the forest and the grassy places. Bo$^{\cdot 9}$ so$^{\cdot 5}$ then used tga^{5} Tai^{5} and cut the demons of sickness and those of groans into halves. She cut the demon of quarrels until it perished. ʒ̇ε^{5} so$^{\cdot 5}$ also brought tga^{5} Tai^{5} and cut. She cut the demons of sickness, of the forest and of the grassy places. Bo$^{\cdot 9}$ so$^{\cdot 5}$ separted men and the demons. ʒ̇ε^{5} so$^{\cdot 5}$ separated the demons so that they could not see people.

(At this point the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

The demons must not come near people. Bo$^{\cdot 9}$ so$^{\cdot 5}$ took an iron hatchet. ʒ̇ε^{5} so$^{\cdot 5}$ took a big stone axe in his hand. Na^{8} bo^{9} so^{5} then struck the stone cliff with her axe. ʒ̇ε^{5} so$^{\cdot 5}$ will cut the stone terrace and the colored cliff. They will come and cut (with their stone axes) the dragon pool of these old people so that it will not spoil. They will cut the big rock and the stone cliff and will cut the old people's lake so that it is safe.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong.)

F. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, I will call (the *tuan kung* calls and the smoke helps him). We will call the ʒ̇wang tsai (the colored dragon) to bring tsaŋ xʌu (a leader in the dragon land). We called ninety-nine colored dragons. When the ninety-nine colored dragons came, they went into the dragon pool of this family. There are also eighty-eight colored dragons who came to control the lake of these old people so that it will not dry up.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

G. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will call again. We call tgo· tsai (the striped tiger) to come to the front. We also call tsai^{5} gi$^{\cdot 7}$ tgo$^{\cdot 7}$ nd^{z}ʌu^{5} (a big lion) to come to the front. Tonu bit with his teeth. Tsai itonu bit and gnashed with his teeth. tgo$^{\cdot 7}$ nd^{z}ʌu then stood up firmly and ate the demons of sickness and those of groans. tsai^{5} gi$^{\cdot 7}$ tgo$^{\cdot 7}$ nd^{z}ʌu came moving

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and ate the demons of sickness and the gasping demons. Then tgo·^{7} nd^{z}ʌu^5 ate the demon of chills (cold diseases) and demons of blood diseases. Tsai shi tso ntsau also bit his teeth together firmly and ate the demon of coughs. When he has eaten it, he wants you old folks of this family clear about it (and without ills, etc.). They ate the demon of sickness and the demon of groans so that they could not harm people. They cannot harm the family of you old people. When the demon of the forest and those of the grasslands come they cannot injure your young people and cannot injure your garden.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

H. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When the smoke arises, we again call. We call the lady sun to come forward. We call to the moon young man to come to the front. When the lady sun has come out, it has shone; it has shone on the souls of you old people's farming and on the five grains. She will also shine on the souls of the domestic animals including cattle and horses. She also shone on the souls of your descendants. She has shone on enough to fill the house. She shone on enough to fill the central floor of the house. The souls in the center pushed out. Those on the two sides went out on each side, and some surged out through the middle door. The front and the rear were full and they went out slowly.

(At this point the *tuan kung* beats his gong a while).

I. When the beeswax burns, the smoke rises. When the smoke rises, then we again call. We call the Nts'ai hwa (girl cloud) to come from the sky above. We call nd^{z}ʌu^5 dʒa·^{7} (male wind) to come from the land above the sky. Nts'ai hwa came and smoked the eyes of the demons of sickness and the demons of death so they could not see. She also smoked the demons of the forest and those of the grasslands. nd^{z}ʌu^5 dʒa·^{7} came and blew. When he blew, the roads of sickness of this family were cut off. When he blew the sounds of the groaning and the sounds of sickness were ended. He blew the sound of the sickness into the water. They blew the demons until they were unable to grow (or live). He blew the demons of the grasslands and those of the forests and vanquished them below the white cliffs. The demons of the forests and those of the grasslands cannot come back.

(At this point the *tuan kung* again beats his gong a while).

J. When the beeswax is burning, the smoke arises. When the smoke rises, we will call again. We will call a pair of Chinese from Wu Lang Yo. (Here he beats the gong).

When the white wax is burning, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will again come and call. We will call a Chinese *Ho Lan Tsi* to come to the front. The Chinese from Wu Lang Yo lighted the lantern and lighted things. They will lighten the soul of this family as it comes and enters the room. The two Chinese from Honan brought the lantern and lighted (the room) together. They will lighten that family's living soul as it returns to the guest room. They will lighten the way for the family's souls (of the living) half way along the road and lighten its souls as they return home. They will lighten the way for the family's souls (of the living) to half way along the road. They will lighten the souls of the family as they come back and return to their garden squares, (where the gardens are divided into squares for planting different things). 755 789

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong as usual).

II. USING THE CHINESE LANGUAGE TO SUMMON CHINESE GODS

At this time, the paper horns must be taken off the *tuan kung's* 端公 head and he does not beat the gong but merely stands up and calls or sings.

"I call the six stars of the southern dipper (cross), the seven stars of the northern dipper. In the name of *Li Lao Güin* I speak to the Great Pearly (jade) Emperor above and below to *Kuan Shih Yin* (*Kuan-Yin*) of Nan Hai."

Now he must speak the Miao language to exorcise demons.

When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will call ntsoŋ jin (a person who was once a prophet of Ntsə, a revered patron of the *tuan kung*) who lives at the foot of Ntsə's great stone called the stone bamboo sprout. Call also na· bo· sʌn jin to come from Ntsə's old colored cliff. Call the ninety-nine layered cliff to come to the front. Call the mountain with eighty-eight layers to come to the front. Also call the cliff with ninety-nine layers to come and separate. Separate people into their homes and demons to the land of demons. Separate people so that they will not go near demons and demons so that they will not go near men.

III. MAKING A CONTAINER

A large bamboo container shallow and with a flat bottom is used. In it are placed bean-curd, biscuits, wine, meat, paper (spirit) money, incense and candles. (Some put water and a little rice in a rice bowl also). 789

A. If I am not to make this vessel (container made of bamboo), then I will not. If you make such a vessel, it is harder and harder. If I make the vessel, it is not very hard. From this time, if you make the vessel, it has a beginning. A piece of bamboo is braided back and forth. The two ends are cut off and you use the middle. A slanting weave (road) is made and a slanting edge. On the two sides are made slanting edges and in the middle is made a square. There is a slanting weave and a slanting edge. We request the Emperor Jên Tsung 仁宗 to sit in the center. The slanting weave comes, beginning with the man character (i.e., the weave, slanting in two directions resembles the character 人 “man”) We request the Emperor Jên Tsung to come and sit on a high seat.

(As he speaks these words, the demon is supposed to be driven away).

B. First I call the wood characters 甲乙 *chia i* from the east. Secondly, I invite the fire characters 丙丁. In the third place call the water character *jên kuei* 壬癸 from the west. Fourthly call the metal characters from the north *kêng hsin* 庚辛. Fifth, call from the middle the earth character *wu chi* 戊己. (These are on the round object used by Chinese geomancers and are here regarded as demons).

(The *tuan kung* 端公 hear shouts “t’ai” and stamps his foot to frighten the demons).

First, call Mao Ta Lang (the oldest son of the Mao family). Second, invite the second son of the Mao family. Third, call the third son of the Mao family. Fourth, invite the fourth son of the Mao family. Fifth, invite the fifth son of the Mao family. Six, invite the sixth son of the Mao family. Seventh, invite the seventh son of the Mao family. Also invite the flowery mountain sister. Then the pitcher of wine and the sliced meat will emit light (because the gods have come). If one’s head aches and one’s whole body aches, it is you (i.e., the demons mentioned above). If your stomach aches and the flesh flinches, it is you. If the heat and cold are not in harmony, and coolness and warmness are not peaceful, it is you. If one’s body is feverish, it is you. To be hot and then cold, it is you. If the whole body aches, it is you emitting light. If the whole body aches as though bound, it is you emitting great light. If the whole body is bound, it is you emitting great light. Please come up on this container (flowery vessel) and go forward. There are some people killing a pig and pouring out wine on the stone-paved road who have invited you. Come, come, we will go together. This is not a place where you will stay a long time. It is not a place where you can tie up your horse. In this place there is the foul odor of urine and human ordure. Go, go, go, get on the container. Let us go together.

When he has repeated the ceremonial to this point, he puts the container on the ground. He regards the demons as having been led (invited) into the vessel and he will open a light for these demons.

IV. OPENING UP THE LIGHTS, PLACING IMAGES

A pair of candles made of beeswax shine brightly. People in the future will have no use for the candles. I (the student) will in the future open up the gods' (source of) light. When I have opened the light of the head, the head is well. When I have opened up the light of the eyes, then the two eyes are bright. When I have opened up the ear-light, the two ears will hear in all four directions. When the nose-light has been opened up, then the bridge of the nose will give good light. When the light of the mouth has been opened up, the mouth-light will hold sixteen pairs. When the hand-light has been opened up, then the hands can be doctors and go in all directions. When the stomach-light, there will be inside the abdomen several tens of intestines. When the foot-light has been opened up, the feet can be doctors and go in all four directions. (When they have opened up the light, the *tuan kung* 端公 must use incense and candles and burn them for the demons mentioned above. When the light is being opened up in the different places mentioned above, blood from a rooster's comb is used and smeared on that part of the paper figures that have been cut out and placed in the bamboo container).

V. MAKING A GRASS MAN

Grass must be taken off the roof of a straw-roofed house.

If I am not to make this straw man. I will not make it. When people make straw men, it is very hard. But when I make straw men, it is not hard. The Emperor Jên Tsung 仁宗 made a vow (to God?) to present twenty-four human heads. I will make a straw man as a substitute for the sick person's body.

(At this point the ceremony of opening the light is repeated as recorded in Section IV. In both places, exactly the same words are used).

He again says, "If I am not to make a straw man, I will not make it. If I myself make a straw man it will not be hard. I will pull off (from the roof) a bunch of straw with which to make him. (The straw man is made by placing part of the straw with heads in one direction, part in the other). I will make a man of it to substitute for your body" (as a gift to the demon of sickness who will then desist from trying to capture the patient through his death).

(At this point the ceremony for opening light is again repeated as noted above).

VI. ESCORTING OUT THE STRAW MAN

On the tree is hung out long paper (spirit) money that is white like silver. In the future, people will have no use for it (the spirit money) I will use (the spirit money to display my glory and skill by driving out demons). I will not sweep away this family's wealth or silks (and satins). I will sweep away the demons and quarrels. I will not sweep this family's wealth and happiness. I will sweep away this family's demons and quarrels. I will sweep away the sky pestilences, the earth pestilences. When I have swept them away your whole bodies will be free from sorrow and sickness. With one (uttered) sound, I will sweep away the (demons of) prize fighters and doctors who have no pupils (to worship them after death and therefore become demons), and castrators of animals who are without pupils, and men who put coal or wood on fires who are without pupils. I will sweep them upon the hua· p'an (the container described in III), malarial fevers, and masons who make the foundations for the pillarstones and idols and are without pupils (to make offerings to their teachers after they have died), roaming demons of carvers, roaming demons of painters, roaming demons of actors, and I will sweep them upon the container (hua· p'an) and cause them to straddle the mountains and cross the passes. (I will sweep away) the demon of a second son who calls dogs, the demons that whistle for winds, and those who whistle on their fingers (to call dogs) with their lips, and the two who assist the *tuan kung* 端公 (by leaping, called the *ma chiao* 馬腳, demons of those who were skillful in bending bows and shooting arrows, the king of demons who controls burial by cremation; I will sweep them onto the container.

VII. SENDING AWAY GODS (DEMONS)

After you have called the gods to you, you must send them away. The gongs and drums are beating loudly. If the common people beat them they will be useless. If I beat them, he can escort away those of glory and skill, to send the gods away. To send the gods to the crossings of the great roads, to send the gods back, to send the gods to the crossing of the big roads. The gong resounds, the drum resounds. A wife and a concubine had three (sons) brothers. Lo alone (among them) was taken away to be a soldier. He met (the demons) and fought a battle. The upper part of his body could fight but the lower part of his body was weak. He fought until the demon's whole body was dripping blood. It was like the hairy caterpillar meeting the stinging worm, the offended person (i.e., who has been harmed and is strong because angry) meeting his enemy. If (the demon) meets us, we will fight a battle. That side will lose and I will win.

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(When he has reached this point—all has been spoken—then the knife in the *tuan kung's* 端公 hand is circled once around the container and his foot is circled around it once. Then he carries it outside the house and the hua p'an, the straw man, the paper money, the paper net, the paper rope, and so on and the demons enticed there, are burned on the cross-roads).

VIII. PREPARING WATER

(Put a bowl of water on the table. The *tuan kung* 端公 rolls a sheet of paper into a round tube, lights it and puts it in the water. He must repeat the following incantations).

We are preparing a bowl of water which is not ordinary water. It is water from the great ocean of the dragon king. It is snow water, water of commands (command water). Common people after this will have no use for it. I will use it in the future to conceal my body and Hua T'o 華佗 water (the name of a great Chinese physician of the Three Kingdoms), water to protect the body, water of the six stars of the southern cross, of the seven stars of the northern dipper, and of Li Lao Chün 李老君 (Lao Tzu 老子), water of Kuanyin of the south sea, water of the roaring god of thunder and the drizzling rain, water to protect ones home, water to cut off the heads of the demons and the spooks and such strange creatures, water of the commanding bugle, water of the commanding Erh Lang 二郎 a Szechwan god; (he represents the originator of the Chengtu plain irrigation system), water of the commands of seven sons of the lotus flower, and water of the commands of five sons who became great officials.

IX. STRIKING WITH THE LIN P'AI

On the table is a *lin p'ai* 令牌. Will the general with sharp hairs please arise and sit in the large hall for gods? Let the lesser gods arrange themselves in rows on the two sides. Let (the general with sharp hairs) be seated in the center of the hall and (the lesser gods) arrange themselves in rows on each side. Will the general of sharp hairs please arise? Will the roaring god of thunder and the deity of drizzling rain behead unclean demons and behead spooks? Stamp once with your feet and roar once and then the unclean demons and spooks will at once start off.

(When he has spoken to this point, he must take the *lin p'ai* and circle it about on his body. When this is done the *tuan kung* 端公 must stamp his seal on the body of the sick person).

X. DISPLAYING THE SEAL

The *tuan kung* 端公 takes a seal in his hands and displays it toward the person who is ill in order to chase away the demons and repeats the following.

One seal is displayed toward heaven. ~~One seal is~~ displayed toward the earth. One seal falls on the person's head. Ten demons see it and nine demons are sad.

Two seals fall on the person's body. The ten demons see it and nine demons fall. Three seals fall on the person's hand (he brings it down three times on the person's hand. The seal prints a charm probably). When the ten demons see it nine of them depart. Four seals fall on a person's breast. Ten demons see it and nine go quickly. Five seals on the (sick) person's foot, and the unclean demons and spooks fall off (the sick person). They fall off his body and off his feet and he is peaceful.

XI. DRAWING WITH A SWORD

The *tuan kung* 端公 holds his hand and circles it about to the left and to the right and he repeats the following.

I take the sword in my hand and cut off the heads of unclean demons and spooks. I will not behead wealth and silks and satins but cut off the demons of quarrels. I will not behead wealth and happiness but I will behead unclean demons and demons (of quarrels) with the mouth and the teeth. I will cut off the heads of demons of sky pestilences and demons of smallpox and measles and of the demons of stiff (paralyzed) legs diseases. I have cut off the heads of five demons and of the demons of this year's pestilences. The five demons have five heads. If ten people see it, there will be heads of nine people. The five demons have five bags. If the saints in the sky see it, they will bow themselves (from the waist). The five demons in the parlor are sitting. If there is no calamity, there must be woes. The blood of the five demons shines. If you do not become ill, you will have boils. The bird is the spirit of a white tiger. He that creeps in the forest (a snake) is a white tiger. A mourner is a white tiger. One with four feet is a white tiger. Each road has five pestilences. I will escort them onto the container hua· p'an.

(When he has repeated to this point, the *tuan kung* takes the knife, moves it and encircles it once).

XII. GOING INTO HADES

Hades is not below but it is a dark place. The *tuan kung* 端公 wears the paper horns on his head and covers up his face with grass paper (coarse bamboo paper). In his hand he takes his ceremonial knife. On his finger he hangs his small ring bell. He sits on a stool as he would on a horse. He sets some grass paper on fire and puts the flame all over the stool to open the light so that the stool can see. Then he sits down and calls his gods and he is like a dead person (if you speak to him or punch him, he will not notice it). He merely repeats his incantations. His body bends to the right and to the left. He does this for four hours. He calls his gods using the words below.

"When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. It arises up to Ntsə's land. It goes down as far as the earth prefecture (of the demon king). Ah, go quickly, go quickly, Tʌv, Tʌv, Tʌv" (he makes thus the noise of a horse running; his lips resound at the end of each syllable). He says:—

"When the beeswax burns, the smoke rises up to the sky. Let ninety-nine lanterns come and go to the front. Call nine thousand (soldier) horsemen to come and go to the front. Quickly bring the saddles and saddle the horses. Bring the bridles and put them in the horses' mouths. Leap on the mules' backs. Leap onto the backs of the donkeys. Leap onto the backs of the big horses. Tʌv, Tʌv, Tʌv (horses running).

"The horses run quickly and well. Go up to Ntsə's land. Go down to the prefecture of Hades. Hurry and bring the lanterns and lamps and lighten (up the way). The flags and the bugles go round and round. The long-handled knives (*ko* 戈) and spears with their handles shine blackly. I am going to go down to the prefecture of Hades. I am going to ascend to Ntsə's land. The red flags go around and around and go up into the heavenly palace. There are numerous men and horses as rising water (of rivers and streams). I go down to the prefecture of the earth and also arrive at Ntsə's land. I arrive at the great palace of the five emperors. Quickly open up widely your main door. I am going to enter the city. I have business or I would not enter the door of your precious palace. Quickly open very wide your main gate. I am going to enter and investigate people. Tʌv, Tʌv, Tʌv. The horses are running fast. I have entered the first gate of the palace. I have entered the second gate of the palace. I have entered the third gate of the palace. I have entered the fourth gate of the palace. I have entered the fifth gate of the palace.

789 "I have entered into the great palace of the five emperors. Old gentleman of the palace of the five emperors, I am going to come and investigate people. My men and horses are very numerous. The lanterns and torches shine in all directions. Shine brightly, shine brightly. Investigate carefully. Investigate carefully and come again and investigate carefully. When you have investigated, your hand above deliver the souls I want to me and I will (below) give money to you. I have money. It is not easy money to get. It is truly money to exchange for lives (souls). I have three thousand times ten thousand copper coins. With a hand above we give the money. With a hand below you give the people (to me). One hand gives the money and another hand gives (receives) the people. Let the same hand give quickly (do not change hands but act quickly.) Search well, investigate well. Give all the souls to me, one, then the second. Give me all the three *hun* 魂 and the seven *p'o* 魄. Give them up nicely. Give them up well and put them on the horses. Write with a red pen (ink) and mark it with a black pen (ink). (Then the person will not die. Officials write with black ink and mark with red ink if the person is to be executed). Mark the three *hun* and the seven *p'o* to return to the world. With the upper hand, hand over the people. With the lower hand (I) give the money. God's old gentleman of the palace of the five emperors(?) give me peoples' three souls and seven *p'o*. You who are in the world, quickly throw the divining sticks (one up and one down) and send money (burn spirit money). Ntsə's old gentleman of the palace of the five emperors, thank you. We will ride the horses and go back again. On all sides, lighten up with the lanterns and torches. We have gone out of one of the palace doors and closed the first palace door. We have gone out of the second palace door and closed the second palace door. We have gone out of the third palace door and closed the third palace door. We have gone out of the fourth palace door and closed the fourth palace door. We have gone out of the fifth palace door and closed the fifth palace door.

"On the left is a person (general) who keeps the gate. On the right side is a demon gatekeeper. Thank you, thank you. I will ride the horses back to earth."

(At this point he certainly must speak the Miao language. He might use Chinese sometimes before).

XIII. GOING INTO HADES

XAn, XAn, XAn, whip the mules. Let the big horses go very quickly. Raise the lanterns and the torches higher. TAv, TAv, TAv. We are going up to Ntsə's sky above. We will go and dance at the flower altar. The *hua t'an* 花壇 is in Ntsə's heaven above. We will see if his flowery altar has come out or not. We will see if the time for using the flowery altar and the flowery drum has come. We are going to climb Ntsə's heavenly ladder. One section, two sections, three sections, (four sections), five sections, six sections, seven sections, eight sections, nine sections, ten sections, eleven sections, twelve sections. When we have climbed the twelve sections, then you have reached the house in heaven. We will see if Ntsə's li tsə flowers are blooming or not. We will see if the pears are bearing fruit. I, see, see, the pear blossoms have dried up. The insects are eating the pear trees. They do not bloom nor bear fruit. XΛn, XΛn, quickly take the brass fan and fan it. (The tree is the souls of my parents. Pear blossoms are daughters, pears are sons. If the tree dries up, the parents will suffer and there will be no descendants). Bring the iron fan and fan it (then the tree will prosper). Quickly release the falcons (sparrow hawks) to eat the insects. ja·^{3}, the tree is clean and leaves are growing, and it is blossoming. The blossoms are blooming all over the tree. The fruit is growing all over the tree.

We will also see if the rice field is full of water and if the lake is dry or not. Ah, we will call Ntsə's mbao To· t'ao to come and repair it. We will also call Ntsə's mbao To t'oŋ to come and help dig the ditch deeper and repair the lake and dragon pool. I will also see if the other family's flower tree has fallen or not. We also must see if that family's young fruit tree is crooked or not. We will call Ntsə's mbao To· tsai to come to help lift it straight, to lift that family's young flower tree until it stands firm. We will go quickly and we will see if the flowery altar has many people or not and the flowery drum has many people about it or not. We will call Ntsə's mbao To· jai to come and help uncover it. We will also call Ntsə's mbao To jai to come and help unbind it, to allow (the souls in) the flowery altar to go away (in several directions), to uncover the flowery altar so that the souls can fly off. Let us light the lanterns and lamps to see if that family's souls are complete or not and to see where the *hun* 魂 and *p'o* of that family have gone. A·, a·, the souls of the family of those people went early. The *hun* and the *p'o* have all gone. XΛn, XΛn, lift the lanterns and the torches higher. Drive the horses and pursue quickly. We will call Ntsə's mbao To-ts'ai to follow you (god's sons who are excellent pursuers). We must look after the souls of the old people as they return home. You must look after the *hun* and the *p'o* of the old people as they return to the world. Call this family's souls to come quickly. *Hun* and *p'o* come quickly. This is not your sleeping place. This is not your dwelling. This place is rotten like chicken manure and rotten like duck manure. Come quickly, let us go. Ah, ah, they have been caught (the souls), they have been caught.

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We have caught the souls of these old people (of this family). Ai, I have caught them. I have caught the *hun* and *p'o* and they are in my hands. Bring them and put them in my hands. Catch them and put them in my hands. Bring the souls and put them on the backs of the mules and bring the lanterns and lamps to make light. They must show if the souls are cleared or not (all present or not) and the *hun* and *p'o* are all here or not. Give the souls to the leaders of the troops to bring. Let the several generals catch the souls. Catch them carefully, bring them home and let them control their families. If one is missing, I will call you to account. Let us bring the lanterns and lamps and light them. We are going home. TΛV, TΛV, TΛV, the horses come rapidly. We are going down the ladder of heaven. We go down the first section, second section, third section, fourth section, fifth section, sixth section, seventh section, eighth section, ninth section, tenth section, eleventh section, twelfth section,

"I come to thank you, Ntsə, to give thanks to you, Ntsə. Above I will inform Ntsə's heavenly palace. Below, we will inform the old people, Tε^5 bo^9 and Tε^6 ʑε^9. I have come to thank you, to express thankfulness to you. I am going to drive the horses and return home. Leap off the horses, leap off the backs of the colts, steady the horses, for we are going to go back. TΛV, TΛV, TΛV, TΛV, we have come back and are getting off the horses."

At this time the *tuan kung* 端公 must again cast the bamboo divining instrument and say: See if the three *hun* and the seven *p'o* are complete or not, if they have come or not. (Here he again casts the divining instruments. If not correct, the souls are not all present). He must once get a *yang kua* 陽卦 throw. He must also get three *yin kua* 陰卦 in order to protect the body of the sick person. When this is done, he has finished this part of the ceremonies.

XIV. SENDING BACK THE GODS AND MENTIONING THE DEMONS

(A lump of meat must be used with wine and arranged properly and the *tuan kung* 端公 repeats the following).

In the midst of sending back the gods, you must send away the demons. If I am not to mention demons, I will (nevertheless) mention demons. When mentioning demons, the demons' hair is untied and worn on the back of the head with the tongue hanging out and I call it a *tiao ching kuei* 吊頸鬼 (a demon that died by hanging). If I am not to mention demons, I will not. This demon is beneath the bed. A person sleeps on the bed. If I am to mention demons, I

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will mention them. Speaking of demons, they sit on the rafters. Tonight, I know you. Ntsoə jin (an ancient *tuan kung*); bo· sʌn (a woman who talks in a tone pleasant to hear) will come and catch you. If we do not speak of demons, we will yet speak of them. Speaking of demons, they are upstairs. Tonight, in the night, I know about you. Yang Shih Güin Tzŭ will make things clear of you (demons). If we do not mention demons, we will then mention them. To mention the demons, they live in the cow pen. Tonight I know you. The *t'u ti* of the south gate will clear things of you. If we do not mention demons we will then mention them. To mention demons, they are in the pig pen. Tonight, I know you. The gods of the pen door will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we then mention them. The demons live on the stove. Tonight I know you. The kitchen goddess will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we will mention them. The demons are sleeping in the bedroom. Tonight I know you. The king of the bedcurtain will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we will mention them. The demons are in the firepit. Tonight I know you. The fire-gods heir to the throne will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we will mention them. The demons are sitting in the guest room. Tonight I know you. The family gods and family demons (the souls of the ancestors) will exorcise you. To mention the demons, they are sitting below the door (the cross-piece at the bottom of the door). Tonight I know you. The god of wealth and the door spirits will exorcise you. A grain of rice is sharp on both ends. Tonight I will injure you. I will not harm the family's wealth or silks or satins. I will injure the demonic mouths and tongues (of demons). I will injure the sky pestilences and the earth pestilences, annual pestilences, monthly pestilences, daily pestilences and hourly pestilences. Tonight I will take you away. I will take you away so that men will not associate with demons, and demons will not associate with men.

XV. CALLING BACK SOULS

Pl'ei^5 lo^2, pl'ei^5 lo^2* (souls come, souls come), come quickly. Ah, souls, come quickly. Ah souls, all come. The soul was reborn (as a babe) and came back. (It can leave the babe temporarily, or permanently and cause death). It was reborn in another person and still came back. He went into a family's flowergarden and came back. He went into the deep creek, stopped and came back. Come quickly, come quickly.

(When the *tuan kung* 端公 has repeated to this point, he uses an axe and strikes the crossbeam at the bottom of the main door).

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*Pl'ei is generally pronounced blai.

The bird frightened you and you came. The rat frightened you and you came. A domestic animal frightened you and you came. You stopped on the level spot on the mountain and came back. You dropped on the big flat and came back also. You dropped on the cliff and also came. You dropped on the crossroads and also came back. If you do not come, my big knife that calls souls and fights demons will be your companion. Today is a good day and tonight is a good night. Come more quickly. Come rapidly. Come, come, come back to your bed and come back to your father and your mother. Come and follow your brothers. Live (here) 1000 years, live here 100 years. Poles cannot pierce into you and nets cannot catch you. You may live here until your hair becomes white. You may live here until you are an old man (with hair) that is gray. You can sit with your hands on your knees (as old people do) and your knees bent. Come more quickly, come, come. If I call you and you do not come, my axe will be your companion. Come quickly. You have come, you have come.

(When calling the soul, the *tuan kung* grasps an axe. He uses a person who has an egg in his hand or the *tuan kung* may hold a rooster in his arms. When the soul arrives, then the egg will fall over. Then he will take the egg and burn it in the fire-pit. When the egg is cooked, then the *tuan kung* cuts it open and looks and says whether it has a soul or not. The egg must be cooked on an even day of the month not on an odd day. One, three or five eggs may be burned).

XVI. SETTING UP THE FAMILY GODS

A pair of candles must be lighted or a sheet of grass paper, rolled up into a long thin roll. The *tuan kung* 端公 carries these in his hand and walks around and around toward the center of the house. Then he says:

If the people of a family are not free from demons (if they are ill), the family gods are not at peace. When the *hua t'an* 花壇 ceremony is completed, I will open the light and I will sprinkle some chicken's blood.

When a pair of beeswax candles burn, then the smoke arises and it shines brightly in the home of you old people. If an ordinary person brings them (the candles), it is useless. I will use them to open the light of the family gods (ancestors). When I have opened up the light of the head, the head will lean in all directions. When I have opened the light of the eyes, the two eyes will be very bright. When I have opened up the light of the ears, the two ears will hear in all four directions. When I have opened up the light of the nose,

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the two nostrils will emit good light. When I have opened up the light of the mouth, the mouth will contain sixteen pairs of teeth. When I have opened up the light to the hands. the hands will protect all four directions. When I open up the light to the feet, the feet will stand firmly like a rock pillar. When I have opened up the light and sprinkled chicken-blood on the image of paper, the chunk of meat and clean wine will be placed on the table and I will come and set up the gods in their places. When I have opened up the light and sprinkled blood on the paper image, we will call wealth here and if there are calamities we will exorcise them. I will protect the master of this home so that he will go out with empty hands and come back carrying wealth. One seed will fall into the ground and 10,000 will return to the granary. You will raise cows as big as mountains and pigs as big as cows. After we have opened up the light for the house-gods, you will be protected and peaceful forever.

XVII. OPENING UP THE LIGHT FOR THE FRONT DOOR

The front door has been opened three feet, three inches high. Open it during the day, close it at night. After it is opened tonight if you have wealth, I will bring wealth. If you have calamities, I will remove them and I will protect and give peace to the large and the small of the house and drive away all diseases. The cows you raise will be as big as the top (head) of a mountain and the pigs you raise will be as big as steers. I will protect the old members of this family so that they can go out with empty hands and come back carrying wealth and silks and satins in their arms. One grain will fall to the ground and 10,000 be reaped and brought home. When people come, the door-gods will open up. If demons come, the door-gods will beat them. If wealth comes, the door-gods will entice it to enter. If demons come, the door-gods will drive them away. If calamities come, the door-gods will exorcise them. If wealth and happiness come, the door-gods will welcome them either by day or by night; they will receive them every day and not cease at night. They will not cease a quarter of an hour. They look away as far as 1000 *li*. Near by, they will look in all four directions. With their eyes they will see clearly and with their mouths they will beat demons and spooks in two. They will open the door to people of this world and close the door to demons. They will only permit people of this world to come and not permit the people of Hades (demons) to go.

(After the above has been repeated, the door is opened for a time, then closed for a time and the ceremony is ended).

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XVIII. REQUESTING THE DOOR GODS TO CAREFULLY REMEMBER THE NAMES OF THE DEMONS

The very thin demons without flesh are named dry, lean demons (glaŋ ntgʌu). The very tall, very large demons that are able to climb mountains are called climb-mountains-cross-passes, (glaŋ^6 Ta·^{5} nTo^2). The demon that nets for wild animals is called ɛʌn^3 ŋga·^{2} (grows-flesh). The demons of women who died in childbirth are called glaŋ^6 so·^{6} (demon that sheds red blood). The demons that cause people to vomit and their hearts to be disturbed are called glaŋ^6 Ta·^{5} (vomiting demons). Demons that cause people to have malarial fever are called glaŋ^6 nao^5 (cold demons). Demons that cause people to die from hunger and thirst are called glaŋ^6 tg'ai^6 (hunger demons) or glaŋ^6 nk'ai^5 (thirst demons). Demons that cause people to drown are called glaŋ^6 glei^5 (water demons). Demons that cause people to die by hanging are called glaŋ^6 sʌu^5 (hanging demons). The demons in caves are called glaŋ^6 tsao (demons that rush out of caves). Demons that cause children to cry at night are called glaŋ^6 dza·^{5} la·^{5} (naked demons). Demons that cause abortion are called glaŋ^6 ts'ʌu^5 (demons that throw away on the hill). Demons that cause young men and women to be sad and to make long sighs are called glaŋ^6 ntgoŋ (enticing demons).

If such demons as these come, let the door-gods use brass clubs and beat them and they will not come.

XIX. OPENING LOCKS

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The master of the house must find several sheets of yellow paper. The *tuan kung* 端公 uses a pair of scissors and cuts the paper into a net (sky-net, earth-net) and an imitation iron chain and brass lock, which he ties on the body of the sick person. (This is done when they believe that the illness is caused by a demon having locked a lock and chain around the neck of the sick person). The *tuan kung* beats a gong, carries an iron cooking-pot, heats the iron point of a plow and puts his foot on it, and he unlocks the door for the sick person. Then he says, "Water comes from the sky to grind knives with. On earth are people to cut off intercourse (contacts between men and demons), unloose the brass nets, unloose the iron nets, unloose the sky nets, unloose the earth nets, open up cages and release birds, unloose nets and release fish, unloose brass armor, unloose iron armor, unloose brass nets and iron nets, unloose brass chains and iron chains, unlock brass locks and iron locks, unloose brass threads and iron threads (that have bound people). If the head aches, release the body, if the body aches, release the feet, and when the body and the feet have been released, and when the head aches remove the heat (of the body) and when the body aches, it becomes cool. Drink tea, peace-giving tea. Drink the peace-giving water. Do not wait until daylight. When I say it, immediately depart. If we say it at midnight, depart at midnight. If any do not depart, I will call Rong sji'n's fire from heaven to burn you away. 789

(When the *tuan kung* has spoken this far, he takes the paper chain and the paper net and the paper lock and puts them all into the winnowing basket, carries them outside the door, and burns them at the crossroads).

XX. REVIVING ONE WHO HAS FAINTED

(Reviving sha—The Miao believe, like the Chinese, that there is a poisonous air called *sha ch'i* 殺氣 that kills people. When a person swoons, he has been injured by *sha ch'i* and a *tuan kung* 端公 can revive him by chasing away the demons.) 789 755

The *tuan kung* opens and holds above him an umbrella of oiled paper. He throws a handful of mustard seed. If he has no mustard seed, he throws a handful of corn. When he throws he shouts, "t'ai, t'ai," and stamps his feet. He says, "Beat the sky demon, beat the earth demon, beat the human demon. Beat the sky demon and send back (what the sky demon has brought) the sky *sha ch'i*. Beat the earth demon and send back the earth *sha* (ch'i). Beat the dead person's demons and send away the *sha* (*ch'i*) of the dead people. Beat the demon of the living people and send back living people's *sha ch'i*. Beat the year demon and send away the year *sha ch'i*. Beat the month demon and send away the month *sha*. Beat the day demon and send away the day *sha*. Beat the time demon sï hou and send away the time *sha*; beat the fierce god who wickedly kills people and turn back the great *sha ch'i* of everything. t'ai t'ai, (and he stamps with his foot), "quickly strike, quickly recede. Recede, recede. recede."

XXI. HOLDING DOWN THE FIRE STAR (MARS)

I have held (pressed) down the fire of Heaven. I have held down the fire of earth. I have pressed down the fire of the year. I have pressed down the fire of the month. I have pressed down the fire of the day. I have pressed down the fire of the moment (time). I have pressed down the fire of the central room. I have pressed down the center of the fire. I have pressed down the fire of the *yin* 陰 (the female principle). I have pressed down the fire of the *yang* 陽 (male principle). I have pressed down the fire of the sun. I have pressed down the fire that likes to kill people (without affection). I have pressed down the demon fire. I have pressed down the fire of living people. I have pressed down the drive-away-*yin* fire. I have pressed down the detain-*yang* 789

789 fire (demon's fire). Leave the *yang* fire to control the home. Drive the *yin* fire to hades (where demons live). Secure *yang* fire to control the family and make it peaceful (without demons). Drive the *yin* fire to the *yin* spirit (or soul). Leave the *yang* fire to control the family so it will be peaceful. If the fire is a foot high, let water be ten feet high. If fire is ten feet high, water will flood up to heaven and hold down the fire.

(When he has reached this point, the *tuan kung* 端公 uses a bowl of water and as walks along in the house, repeating his words, he sprinkles water with his hands. When he has finished speaking, he pours out the water from the bowl and the bowl on the table upside down).

XXII. INCANTATION TO DIVINE BY MEANS OF UNCOOKED RICE

787 There is a sky pestilence and an earth pestilence so I come to report to the god. (The uncooked rice is treated and addressed as a god). If there is any unsatisfactory matter I shall come and report to the god. If the head aches and the whole body is hot, we shall come and report to the god. If there is any unworshipped demon of the *t'an shen* or ruined temples, I shall come and report to the gods. If there is any fierce god that kills people, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any grass demon, wood demon, or demon of the forest, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any fierce (murderer) I shall report the fierce matter. If there is anything hard, we shall report it. Without something important, we shall not wantonly report. Without something fierce, we shall not wantonly report.

(When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family).

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XXIII. PRESSING DOWN THE DEMON THAT PUNISHES SIN BY PAIN IN THE EYES

755 If you bump (sin) against wood, the wood demon will enter you and harm your eyes. If you bump (sin) against wood, wood will harm you. If you bump (sin) against stone, stone will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a grave, the grave will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the stone of the cow pen, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a stone of a stove, it will harm you. If you bump

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(sin) against the dya of the stove, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against grass, wood or stone, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against all the things in a home, they will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the eastern direction, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the western direction, it will harm you. If you bump against the north direction, it will harm you. If you bump against the west direction, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against water it will harm you and it will immediately fade away. If you bump (sin) against wood, it will fade away. From the time we have repeated this to-day, you will be well.

(While the above is being repeated, the *tuan kung* uses grass paper to sweep. When he has finished sweeping, he takes a bowl of water and cooked rice and pours it out on the ground).

XXIV. PRESSING DOWN THE DEMONS THAT CAUSE WOMEN TO LOSE THEIR CHILDREN OR TO HAVE MISCARRIAGES

After the *tuan kung* 端公 has called the gods, then he must repeat the following and it will enable her to normally give birth to babies and to bring them up. He must actually hold or press down the demons. After he has done this, he worships the gods and the men and women of the family must worship. He says:

"The sky sinned against the sky monkey and neither the moon nor the sun shone any more. The earth sinned against the earth monkey and the grass and trees would not grow. If a person sins against the monkey that climbs the cliffs, he will dry up. To-day I will free you from this and you will immediately get well."

XXV. PREPARING SIX HORSES AND BRIDGE BEAMS FOR THE SICK

As the method of arranging the bridges, you must use 12 feet of cloth and arrange it well, and four stools, one above the other. The *tuan kung* uses a brass gong and alternately beats it and speaks. He says:

"The difficult bridge and the six horses are spoilt. I will protect the sick person. When the three *hun* 魂 and the seven *p'o* 魄 come upon the bridge, I will wear an iron hat on my head."

(He will put the brass gong on his head and pretend that he is wearing a hat. On his feet he is supposed to wear iron-topped boots. He brings the brass gong and pretends to put on shoes. He should wear brass armor also, and he uses the brass gong to imitate this).

789 "Come and lead a thousand soldiers and horses and 19,000 fortresses."

755 "Soldiers and horses come upon the bridge. The rest may be repeated like the first one in this book."

XXVI. CALLING WATER TO BECOME DIVINE FOR THE GODS TO DRINK

789 Use a bowl or a pot and put water inside. Cover it with three sheets of paper and a piece of cloth. The *tuan kung* 端公 repeats:

"Ntsə's water in heaven is called the water from the river in heaven brought by the prince of heaven. The old man of the earth brought water of the earth below and from the creek he brings water of the rivers and seas. From the home he takes incense fire and beeswax fragrant water. From the rice field he brings water of the rice-plants. Ntso G jin brought water to destroy demons."

XXVII. CALLING WATER TO EXORCISE DEMONS

(Spoken in Chinese).

"Water is the source of the heaven and the earth, the foundation of all living things, widely cultivating people's happiness, used by people in heaven and on earth, inside and outside. For tao 道 learning,* you are reverenced and your body has marvellous light to protect our bodies so that seeing we do not see, hearing we do not hear, and you can protect us in heaven and on earth and nourish all our lives, and propagate it a thousand times. You are bright. Heaven and earth will come and wait upon and protect you. In ancient times *Wu Ti* 武帝 would welcome you. All gods of virtue will come and worship you. It uses the thunder and lightning. Demons and spooks will lose their courage. Your learning *tao* will last forever. I have also called you. Without affairs you stabilize space and control people."

(When this is finished the *tuan kung* 端公 takes water and sprinkles it in all directions and says the following in Chinese."

"When I sprinkle this once, above it pacifies fire calamities. (Lest fire break out). When I sprinkle this a second time, below it will pacify cave demons. When I sprinkle the third time, in the center it will avoid calamities. When I sprinkle the fourth time, there will be peace among men."

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*This is the Chinese word *tao* 道 and of course the meaning is far more inclusive than the English term "learning". To the Ch'uan Miao interpreter it seemed that the word "learning" came very near to what *tao* means to the Ch'uan Miao.

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XXVIII. TO PREVENT BLOOD FROM FLOWING CUT WITH A KNIFE AND REPEAT THIS INCANTATION

When I go to the east, it is black. In my hand, I hold a golden knife and I ride an iron cow. I will cut in two the mouths of two creeks that flow together. I will stop the bubbles under the skin so that the blood will not flow. Above is the head of the rapids. Stop up (like a stopper) the sky river. Below is the head of a rapid. We shall stop up the yellow river. A well with two mouths, we will stop the blood of the skin so the blood will not flow. We will stab in two the water of the western river so it will not flow. The blood prince (a male deity) is named *ch'iu* 秋 (autumn). The blood woman is named *liu* 流 (flow). One road (of the blood) changes to ten roads (in veins and arteries). Ten roads change to a hundred roads. A hundred roads change to a thousand roads. All the roads have definiteness. All the roads have spirits (intelligence). First, do not deceive me. Secondly, do not deceive other people who have come. If you still bleed, I will add a golden lion cat and stop it.

(When he has reached this point, the *tuan kung* 端公 must use his two hands and twist them like a lion. Then he says:)

"At the order of ʒ̇ei ʒ̇ai na ʒ̇ei, like an order according to the law," (and again he repeats) "I go to the east and it is black. My hand grasps a golden knife and I ride an iron cow. I stop up the mouth of the blood stream and will stop the blood bubbles so they will not flow. In a large way, I will stop the great Yangtse. In a small way I will stop a small river. I will cut off the Yellow River's *chiu hsi chiang* 九西江 nine west rivers. The wind enters the emptiness. Emptiness enters the wind. One wind, two winds, and the iron wire sews it together, (i.e., the bleeding skin). The left foot moves and the mountain comes and cuts off the sea. (The *tuan kung's* eyes are closed a while and he moves his left foot around as secretly as possible.) He says, "When the right foot moves, it cuts off the gateway of the sea. (He moves his right foot as though crossing a mountain). He says: The left hand crosses over the mountain to cut (block) off the sea. The right hand crosses the mountains to block off the gateway of the sea. (When he is saying the above, he closes his eyes and moves his hands as though they were crossing a mountain.) One, two, three, four, five, metal, wood, water, fire, earth. Metal does not leave wood and wood also does not leave metal. The blood man is named *chou* the blood mother is named *hsiu*. Stop, stop, do not flow, do not flow, do not flow. When I use these words, I will stab away the power of the wind and the water will not flow. Above is the head of the rapids. Stop the sky river. Below is the

789 head of a rapid. Stop the Yellow River. Above, stop the Yellow River's *shuang ho ching* 雙河井 (double river well). Below, stop the two gates (mouths) of the Yellow River. He blows his breath three times and pinches the (open sore) together. The *tuan kung* opens his eyes and lifts up his head to see the clear sky. The one who has taught me (this) by word of mouth, come before my eyes. Mr. Huang, who have taught me, if I call you a thousand times, let it be efficacious (bring an answer) a thousand times and if I call you ten thousand times, answer ten thousand times.

XXIX. TO REMOVE BONES OR METAL OBJECTS THAT HAVE BEEN SWALLOWED

789 I lift up my eyes and lift up my eyes to see the clear sky. The instructor who taught me with his own mouth
755 is before my eyes. I ask my teacher for a bowl of water. The teacher has nine dragons in the bowl. The water of the throat of the nine dragons (is in the bowl). When gold, silver, copper, iron, or pewter touches this water, it is turned into dirt. I obey the command of tsai ʒ̇in ʒ̇ai lʌu, order you to swallow a bone and transform the bone, and to swallow brass and transform the brass, and to swallow bone dust and transform it to bone pills like (as easy as) the nine dragons entering the deep rapid. My breath of virtue endures long. If there is copper, transform copper. If there is no copper, do not transform the flesh. If there is bone, iron, pewter, or nails, you must transform them. If there are none of these, do not transform the (person's) flesh. I obey this command; immediately transform.

(When the incantation has been completed, the patient must drink the water the *tuan kung* has secured.)

XXX. EXORCISING THE DEMON THAT CAUSES PAIN IN THE NIPPLES

He repeats the incantation saying, "The baby drinks the milk laughing. Why have you come to me? I reply, The nipple is helpless. It is pitiful. I request you not to let people rub your nipples to cure you. If the pain is in the left, heal the left nipple. If the pain is in the right, cure the right. Rub the left and the pain of the left will depart. If we rub the right, (the pain in) the right will depart. If it still does not depart, I will take (the pain) away.

(The *tuan kung* uses the second and third fingers and he traces on the nipple, then she is well.* When he has taken away (the demon), he again asks the milk to come out).

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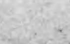
*This tracing resembles the one below: 

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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The milk must not accumulate (at one spot). The milk must not delay. When he calls you, you must come out at once.

XXXI. EXORCISING THE DEMON THAT CAUSES BOILS

I invite the thunder god, I invite the thunder goddess, I invite the Chinese medicine god, and also invite the Patriarch of the Lamas, and the teacher who removes water (out of ones body) and grows broken bones together, the upright teacher, the teacher who removes fever, the teacher who removes swellings, the teacher who stops the flow of blood and stops pains: the Patriarch among the snow mountains, the young lady among the snow mountains, the Crown Prince among the snow mountains.* At the first watch much snow falls. At the second watch a heavy frost falls. At the third watch it becomes very cold. At the fourth watch, frost is again added on top of the snow. At the fifth watch the bantam (golden) rooster will report (that) daylight (has come). This place has been transformed into a snow mountain plot. The dragons come. The dragons display their claws. The tigers come. The tigers display their bodies. When the tiger comes, the skin of the tiger will recede. When the dragon comes, the bones of the dragon will recede. The water of snow stops blood and stops pains and causes fevers to disappear and removes swellings and grows broken bones together. It sets dislocated bones (joints) so they can grow flesh, and grows together holes in the flesh. I, ʓ̇in Ntgoŋ ʓ̇ɛdgi·, come and bear witness. If you call me a hundred times, then it is efficient a hundred times. When you have taken (the demon) away, then (the boil) will be well.

XXXII. INCANTATION TO HEAL BOILS

Black, black and bright, bright. (On one hand black, on the other bright). The sun is coming out in the east. Ntsə^{2} ŋgʌu^{2} go^{5} with Ntsə^{3} nts'ai^{5} ʓwɛi^{6}† came to cure boils (by taking away the demons). First, healing them so they will not swell. Secondly, healing them so they will not be painful. Thirdly, healing them so they will not discharge pus. Fourthly, healing them so they will not bleed. If there is something fierce, remove the fierce (thing). If there is swelling, remove the swelling. Do not let this time pass. (When he has spoken thus, he uses his second and fourth

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*The meaning here is evidently that one snow mountain is the patriarch, another is a young lady, and a third is a Crown Prince among the other snow mountains, all of which are living beings.

†Ntsə^{2} ŋgʌu^{2} go^{5} is a golden boy or girl.

Ntsə^{3} nts'ai^{5} ʓwei^{6} is a stone girl.

789 fingers and traces a circle (spiral) on the boil.† When he has drawn this he repeats the incantation again.)

755 First, we have turned around the sky and the earth. Secondly, we have turned around the sun and the moon. The third turn and pus will not come out. The fourth turn and blood will not come out. If there is something fierce, then we will remove the fierce. If there is swelling we will remove it. I will add the bugle of the gods and the bronze bells, an iron axe, a brass finger ring, and an iron finger ring to remove (the boil). (When he has finished saying this, he again traces the spiral.)

XXXIII. INCANTATION TO PURIFY THE HOUSE AFTER A DEATH DURING THE MONTH

789 The heaven and the earth are as a matter of course and the poisonous air. The cave is empty. Huang Lang T'ai Hsüan* the majestic god of the eight directions cause me to be (as a matter of course) unmolested, spiritual precious and charm commands to broadly report to the nine heavens. Let Kan Lo Tang Lo and Tong Kang T'ai Hsüan behead spooks and tie up the demoniacal and kill 10,000 demons. The incantations of the gods in the mountains of the Primary Literary God. I repeat one section and I will capture demons and protect one's years, and arrange the five hells and know the eight seas. The demon king's hands are tied and 1000 soldiers come and help me. The fierce and unclean will disappear and the breath of *tao* 道氣 will last long.

(While he is repeating the above the *tuan kung* 端公 holds a broom in his hand and he holds a piece of cloth in his hand which must be white and twelve feet long, and he sweeps it around. He lights a torch and goes around the house to lighten and smoke it up to make it impossible (by the light) to see the demon and chase out the demon forms.)

XXXIV. THE WATER OF THE NINE DRAGONS (THIS WATER CAN HEAL COLDS IN THE HEAD)

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755 Use a bowl of water and draw charms above it. Put it on a table. Use a live rooster. You must have a piece of white cloth or black or dark blue; do not use red cloth. And a knife is needed and clean wine. Get them ready, then repeat this incantation. With the finger a dragon should be traced above the water while the person is repeating the incantation. With the two hands three knots must be twisted. The incantation follows:

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†The spiral is like this

*These are Chinese names, so they are romanized according to Chinese sounds. The Chinese characters could not be secured.

I lift up my eyes and lift up my head to see the clear sky. The teacher who taught me with his mouth is before my eyes. I want a bowl of water from Ntsə's sky. In the water are nine dragons. This water is from the throat of the nine dragons which can transform gold, silver, brass and iron. When they touch the water they will be changed to dirt. Obey the command of Nts'ə in heaven, swallow and transform brass, swallow iron and transform it. (If there is a cold, I will transform the cold.) I also swallow bone dust and transform it to bone pills, as the nine dragons going down steep rapids. I have *tao* 道 and my life will endure long.

When he has repeated thus far with his left hand he lifts up the bowl of water and with his right hand he draws a large dragon on the water. Then he gives the water to the sick person to drink.

XXXV. THE NINE DRAGONS TRANSFORM BONES AND WATER THAT DRIVE AWAY COLDS OR HELP IN CHILD-BIRTH

"I lift up my eyes and look at the clear, blue sky. Before my eyes is my instructor. I call the instructor Tsang the *tuan kung* and I also invite Ntsə^{2}'s Taŋ^{2} ʒɛ^{5} glo·^{6} in heaven. He has a bone which is a pill to cure colds. To-day will escort you to the Nine Dragon Rapid. There is another bone that is a pill to transform colds. I myself will escort you to the Nine Dragon Rapid. Brass, iron, colds and fevers will be transformed into water. Pewter things and bamboo things will be changed into dust. All illnesses will be transformed into water. Indigestion and malaria will be transformed into dust. In front it is empty. Behind it is empty. It will be transformed until it is without appearance. You ferry me teacher so that I can creep into Ntsə's heaven."

The *tuan kung* 端公 twists his hands into a nine-dragon turn over their bodies' knot. He also says,

"This water is not common water. This water is water to make peaceful births and transform demons. This water is not ordinary water. This water is water to exorcise spooks and transform strange demons. When I have finished I draw pictures (with the hands) over the water and everything will be prosperous and well.

C. MEMORIAL AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

THESE WERE SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG TZŬ NIANG 熊子良 A CH'UAN MIAO FARMER FAMOUS AS A PRIEST OF MO WHO LIVES AT CHAO CHIA LING 趙家林 NEAR WANG WU CHAI 王武寨 AND IS OVER FIFTY YEARS OLD.

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

I. REPETITIONS WHILE MAKING OFFERING AT THE NEW YEAR'S TIME

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The year is ended. The night of the twelfth moon and the thirtieth day has come. The dead ancestors are invited to come and eat rice biscuits. I give the rice biscuits to the ancestors with my own hands.

When the rice biscuits have been eaten, you must go and remove diseases and remove calamities and remove pains and remove quarrels and remove sins. You must leave them on the roads of the Lolo and the Chinese. You must add to the strength of your descendants so we can go and sow. You must add to their power so they can make clearings in the wilderness, so that your descendants will have food and clothing. Then you will have meat to eat and wine to drink and your descendants will sacrifice to three generations of female and male ancestors.

You come first (and eat). Now I will make the offerings with my (own) hands. Come and eat. Now I will invite my own ancestors of three generations with all the dead relatives of three generations, all to come together and eat.

(When he has spoken to this place, he must invite them to come and eat, beginning with the oldest, calling each of them by name, until he has reached his own parents (if they are dead). He must certainly mention them by name one by one and give food to each one. When he is through making the offerings, then he may eat himself. The husband is always invited first, then the wife, then another male).

II. WORDS REPEATED AT NEW YEAR'S TIME, ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE YEAR WHILE MAKING OFFERINGS

First a pot of new rice must be cooked. Fresh water and new tea leaves must be used to make tea. First tea must be offered to the ancestors. When the tea has been offered then they offer rice and meat. He repeats the following while making the offerings.

The first day of the new year has come. Your descendants have cooked new rice. The new year will become ten thousand years (for the descendants). We offer to you a wooden spoon (in which food is given) so you can eat the new year meal. xʌu lo· xai (come and eat and drink). Let the female and male ancestors of three generations come together to eat the New Year feast. xʌu lo· xai. When you have eaten, you must come and increase the strength of your descendants so that they can plow and sow the fields and the mountain wildernesses so that they can have food. If they have food and clothes then we will first make offerings to

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the three generations of female and male ancestors. xAu lo-xai. When you have eaten, you must come and add many domestic animals and cause the crops to grow and cause the old forests and the uncultivated hills to grow (trees and grass), and cause many sons to be born and many grandsons. When the descendants have planted their crops, and made clearings in the wilderness, you must cause your descendants to get things to eat and drink and they will first make offerings to the three generations of female and male ancestors. xAu lo- xai.

(When he has repeated to this point, he calls the names of the ancestors, one by one, beginning with the oldest, inviting them to come and eat and offering them food to eat. Sometimes the offerings are thrown on the ground, sometimes they are placed in a bowl on a table. Always the male is called on first, then his wife, then another male of a nearer generation.)

III. OFFERING WINE ON NEW YEAR'S DAY TO ANCESTORS

My grandmother and my grandfather, to-day is the first day of the New Year. My three generations of female and male ancestors have come to drink New Year's wine. When you have drunk wine, you must lead your descendants forth to be scholars and civil officials and lead them to be military officials. After that you must look after your descendants so that they can raise many domestic animals. When you have drunk, you must make their descendants very numerous. You must cause the sons and grandsons to have food and drink. You must cause the descendants to accomplish so that they have meat to eat and wine to drink. Then they will first come and make offerings to you three generations of female and male ancestors so that you will all come and get (wine) to drink. When you have drunk and gone you must not nourish diseases (lest they come and injure us). You must not nourish groans, you must not nourish quarrels, you must not nourish crimes, but let the descendants farm and get food and drink. They will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so that they may come together and drink.

(When he has spoken up to this point, then he must mention the three generations of female and male ancestors and invite them to come and make offerings to them, from the oldest even including his own sons and daughters who are dead. When he has finished these offerings the living descendants may eat breakfast.)

IV. OFFERINGS ON THE THIRD DAY OF THE NEW YEAR

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My grandmother and my grandfather, the third day of the New Year has arrived. The three generations of female and male ancestors have already been here three days. The big hill is trampled down (i.e., the grass, from the people enjoying themselves on the hills). Now we invite you to come and eat the biscuits you have left over. I am going to report to you so that you may depart. You will return to your places and stand among the reeds and sit among the flowers. You go and dig up grass roots to nourish your lips (to eat). You must go still more and dig up grass roots and roots of reeds to nourish your bodies. Now you have eaten. You must go and carry away illnesses (for the descendants). You must go and carry away pains, you must go and carry away quarrels, and you must go and fill up the pits of illness and fill up the pits of groans and fill up the pits of quarrels and you must also go and collect all kinds of pain and illness. When you have collected them you must increase the strength of your descendants to farm, open clearings in the wilderness and cut down deep forests. You must cause your descendants to have food to eat, then they will make offerings to you three generations of female and male ancestors. You have eaten. You must wait the year and month when you should come and then we will invite you to come and eat meat and eat rice. You have eaten, so go. If you become hungry you can in a dream at night imitate rain and wind as a sign (and we will know that you are hungry). (This is regarded as such an omen by the Chinese.) You must not come as a sickness or a pain and injure us lest your descendants have to eat wild berries behind the house (because of hunger) and become unable to make offerings to you. Please come and drink (wine) and when you are through drinking return to your place and come back at *tuan yang* 端陽.

V. TEA MUST BE OFFERED ON THE SAME DAY (THE THIRD DAY OF THE FIRST MOON)

It is the morning of the third day of the New Year. People are through playing on both the large and the small mountains. When the remaining biscuits are all eaten up you must drink tea. When you are through drinking tea, I will inform you that you must go to your country and dig reed roots to nourish your mouths and dig up grass roots with which to nourish your bodies. When you have drunk tea, you must go and remove calamities, sickness, quarrels, and bad things. You must increase the strength of your descendants so that they can farm, so that they will have strength to climb mountains like wild pheasants running, and go down hill like black snakes. When you have drunk it you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can go and farm. When they do their farming, do not let the grasshoppers eat it or white insects cut it off. Let your descendants have clothes and food. They will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations.

Now we want to invite the deceased ancestors all to come together and eat. When you are through eating, I will determine for you that you must wait until the fifth moon at *tuan yang* before we will again make offerings to you.

VI. OFFERINGS AT TUAN YANG 端陽 IN THE FIFTH MOON

My grandmother and my grandfather, to-day is the fifth moon feast, *tuan yang*. We invite you female and male ancestors for three generations to all come together and eat the *tuan yang* meal. xai, xai, xai.

When you have eaten it, cause your descendants to be students and civil officials. When you have drunk, go and cause them to be soldiers. When you have eaten, cause the domestic animals of your descendants to be very numerous. When you have eaten, cause your descendants to multiply and cause your descendants to have clothing and food and drink. They will then first make offerings to their female and male ancestors for three generations so they can come and drink. When you have eaten, you go. If you are thirsty, you change to wind and rain and come first and come and reveal it to us. Do not become severe illnesses and come to injure us. You must protect your descendants so they will have food and drink before they can make offerings to you. Xai, xai, xai. (We are making offerings for you to eat).

(When this has been repeated to this place, the officiator must call by name, as before described, the departed ancestors for three generations).

VII. THE OFFERINGS AT THE CEREMONY OF EATING NEW GRAIN

Xai, xai, xai. We are making offerings to our female and male ancestors of three generations. Your descendants have harvested their crops and have not yet tasted them and to-day is a propitious day. We will first come and make offerings for you female and male ancestors for three generations to all come together and eat. When you have eaten them, you all come together and eat (the) new (grain). When you have eaten, you go and remove quarrels, add to the power of your descendants to do farming, and make clearings in the deep forests. Let your descendants have food and drink and they will first come and make offerings 796 to you. Let them farm and have food and drink and they will come forward again and make offerings to the female 769 and male descendants for three generations before you can have things to drink.

(The names of the dead ancestors for three generations must be repeated and each called upon to come and eat and drink, as in previous ceremonies).

VIII. OFFERINGS TO DEPARTED ANCESTORS WHEN A GIRL IS BEING GIVEN AWAY IN MARRIAGE

769 Now we are giving a daughter away in marriage. The girl's family has brought meat and wine. They have prepared 585 much meat so that it fills up a bowl. The wine is good and the bubbles stick to the cups. Much meat has been prepared 782 and it has filled up a bowl. The bubbles of the wine float about and then stick to the sides of the cup. The descendants have not yet eaten or drunk. We will first come forward and make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and remove quarrels and also remove the stupid sons who are by the wayside and remove the crazy men who are by the roadside. You must increase the strength of your descendants so they can do farming and nourish their sons and daughters. In the future, your descendants will bring meat and wine and then they will first make offerings to you and then you will be able to eat and drink. Let my female and male ancestors for three generations all come together and drink. Large and small, old and young, who have formerly died, come together and drink. xʌu lo- xai.

(The ancestors must all be called upon by name and invited to eat and drink as described previously).

IX. OFFERINGS AT THE HOME OF THE GROOM WHEN THE BRIDE ARRIVES

xʌu lo- xai. To-day we are marrying a bride for our son. We have prepared the meat and the rice but we have not yet eaten. We will first come and make offerings to you. When you have eaten you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can farm. You must also add to the strength of your descendants so they can nourish their sons and daughters, and have sons and grandsons. Afterwards the sons and grandsons will also have sons and grandsons so in the future they will have great power and they will have food and drink and in the future when the marriage day arrives, they will prepare wine and meat, and when they have prepared it they will not eat and drink it but will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so they can first eat.

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(As usual, the ancestors for three generations are called 769 by name in succession according to age and invited to eat and offered the food. After this, the tables are set and the 589 descendants and guests eat).

X. OFFERINGS AFTER A PERSON HAS DIED

You (mentions his name), you cannot come to life again 765 as a person. You are a living demon. I have prepared wine nine times for you to drink (so you can drink nine times). Your meat is cooked. I am offering meat for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must not give it to a sick demon (that causes sickness) to eat or a death demon (that causes death). You must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten it, you should go and be near the clothing and belt of your grandmother and the clothing and belt of your husband's grandfather. If the Lolo are many, your grandmother will help you look after them. If the Chinese are numerous, she will also help you look after them. Now the meat is done. You cannot become alive again as a human being. You are living as a demon. Now I have prepared nine cups of wine and nine bowls of meat for you to eat. I am offering meat and rice for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all up, do not give it to the demons of death to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must offer it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten, you go and get near your husband's grandmother's clothing and get into your husband's grandfather's clothing. If the Lolo are numerous (in Hades) your husband's grandmother will look after them for you. If the Chinese are many, your husband's grandfather will look after them for you. Now I have already offered you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. I will now release you to go on the old road. You must go to Ntsa's dwelling in heaven and live there.

(When the above has been repeated, the bamboo divining sticks are used and the name of the deceased person is called. The divining sticks indicate whether the deceased is pleased or not. If not more offerings are made until the deceased soul is satisfied.)

XI. THE OFFERINGS AT THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY (ON THE TWELFTH DAY AFTER THE BURIAL) (THIS CEREMONY IS IN THE HOME)

Xai, xai, xai. Yesterday you (the deceased) deceived the demons. You came back to-day instead. (The burial reckons as the first day. On the 12th. (the 11th.) the dead person deceives the demons into thinking he will come back. He actually returns on the 12th. day, counted the 13th. Have you come back to find your bed and bedding? I prepared

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nine cups of wine nine times for you to drink. I found a bed and covers for you to sleep on. We will cook meat and wine and rice for you to eat and drink. If you can't eat it all you must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations. xʌu lo xai.

When he has repeated the above, he must make offerings to all relatives who have previously died, within three generations, including his own children, and call them all by name in succession, as described elsewhere.

XII. THE OFFERING IN THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY. (THE ROOSTER IS OFFERED ALIVE, THEN KILLED, FEATHERS REMOVED, THE MEAT COOKED, THEN CUT UP AND BROUGHT BACK AND OFFERED AGAIN)

You have deceived the demons, coming the 13th. day (counting the day of burial as one day) instead of the 12th. (so the demons could not come along). You have come back to find a bed to sleep in. I have prepared nine cups of wine nine times for you to drink. I will also give you meat (of a rooster) to eat, and rice. If you can not eat it all up, do not give it to a demon of sickness to eat, or to a demon that causes death. You must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and get near to their clothing (the demons of the grandparents of the groom). If the Lolo are numerous there, the grandfather (of the groom) will look after them for you. If the Chinese are numerous, he will also look after them for you.

When this point is reached, the ancestors for three generations are called by name and invited to eat as previously.

XIII. OFFERING RICE AND WINE AT THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY

You have deceived the demons by saying this festival is on the 12th. day when it is on the 13th. You came back to find a bed. I am going to prepare nine cups of wine nine times for you to drink. Now your meat is cooked. You are going to eat meat and rice. If you cannot eat it all do not give it to the demons that cause sickness or to the demons that cause death. You should give it to your female and male ancestors of three generations and offer it to all, old and young. When you have finished eating, you must go and stay near to your (husband's, if the deceased is the wife, his own if it is the husband) grandmother's clothing and near your (same as above) grandfather's clothing. If the Lolo get, your grandmother and your grandfather will look after you. If the Chinese get, your grandparents will look after you.

After this, the offerings are made. All the dead ancestors for three generations will be called by name and invited to eat as described before.

XIV. AFTER THE OFFERINGS HAVE BEEN MADE, THE SOUL OF THE DEAD IS SENT BACK TO HIS ABODE

You deceived the demons by pretending that the day for returning was the 12th. when it was the 13th. We gave you nine cups of wine to drink nine times and you have drunk it all up. Now you are dead. Human beings think of their homes and dead people think of their graves. We are sending (releasing) you back to the place you have gotten, to the grave which you have gotten, to go back to the place where your grave is.

When the leader of the ceremony has reached this place, he throws the bamboo divining sticks down on the ground. If right, the ceremony is finished. If wrong, the ceremony is repeated until things are right.

XV. THE OFFERINGS AT THE TSO CHAI CEREMONY

At the side of the house we welcome the soul of the dead. We make a bed and prepare nine cups of wine nine times for the dead person to drink, before we entice him to enter. When we repeat this once, it may count as three times. If it is repeated three times, it reckons as nine times. The uncle comes and carries the soul in a flat round bamboo basket. When he carries it to the parlor, those who play the *lu shêng* go in front and the filial children come in the rear with the soul. He carries it here and goes to the flowery shrine. He also will give you nine cups of wine for you to drink. When you have drunk, we will give you a bed. We will also boil meat and rice for you to eat and drink. When you have eaten and drunk, your children and grandchildren will change to birds and return to the forest. They will change to fish near water. We will change your *bo gi* (a sifter or container). Your body will be light. You ʒ́ɛ mʌn, I poured out nine times, nine cups of wine for you to drink. If you cannot drink it all, then you must not give it to demons of illness, or the demons of death. You must give it to the three generations of grandmothers and grandfathers. If the Lolo get near you the grandmother and grandfather will look after you. If the Chinese get you, they will look after you.

When this point has been reached, then the offerings are made and the three generations of ancestors are called as described elsewhere.

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XVI. A PART OF THE TSO CHAI CEREMONY FOLLOWING SECTION XV

Oh deceased person, the loft falls down and crushes the (lower part of the) house. The house falls down and crushes the loft. This year your soul comes back and unravels the mat. The three souls and seven *p'o* unravel the sewing basket (round and shallow, made of bamboo). Your soul has been dead one year. Your aged soul has fallen for a year. This year your aged soul has come back to loosen (take apart) the sewing basket. The souls have come back to remove money (because of sins). We are performing your memorial *tso chai* ceremony, to cause your body to be light. When you go back, then you will be near the female and male ancestors for three generations.

XVII. SENDING THE SOUL OF THE DEAD ANCESTOR AWAY AT THE END OF THE TSO CHAI MEMORIAL CEREMONY

Vaŋ killed his sheep. Vaŋ (the master of the ceremonies) is worshipping his demon (the souls of his dead ancestors). Vaŋ killed his pig. Vaŋ is worshipping his ancestors. Vaŋ killed his cow. Vaŋ entertains his guests. (The same word is used for entertain and worship). We can worship our ancestors but we cannot perform the ceremony of sending them away (at this time because a priest or momust do it). To-day Vaŋ is to perform the ceremonies. He will escort the dead soul to the bank of the river. Vaŋ picked up a big stone. Vaŋ escorted the soul to the bend before Vaŋ picked up a big *su ma* biscuit. Vaŋ escorted the soul to the lower pass. Vaŋ picked up a big bamboo key. Vaŋ escorted him to another lower pass. Vaŋ picked up a brass key. Vaŋ escorted him as far as the big flat below. Vaŋ picked up a big silver bracelet. Vaŋ escorted the soul below. Vaŋ picked up a big golden bracelet. Vaŋ escorted the soul to the place where the sun rises. Vaŋ escorted the soul of the dead person to the place where he could live together with the soul of his grandparents. Vaŋ escorted him up to the sister sun. Vaŋ then saw the soul of the dead with his ancestors sitting in one place. Then Vaŋ returned home. He came to the home of those where the ceremony is being performed. He saw that their front door was closed. Vaŋ has escorted the dead ancestor's soul away and when he came back he brought the silver bracelet. The silver bracelet is as thick as your finger. He brought a golden bracelet as big around as your hand. He came to the door of the family and saw that the front door is closed. Vaŋ took the bamboo key and opened it. Will you open it? If you will open your front door the gold and

765 silver will come. It will come inside the house and fill it up. It has filled the big parlor. It has filled the middle hall and also the two sides.

(He opens the front door and enters and the ceremony is ended).

XVIII. CHANGING THE GRAVE. (REPEATED BY THE MO·, WHO ALONE MAY DO IT)

(In your grave) you find it hard to live and cannot sleep so you have come and want your descendants to rescue you and furnish another dwelling (grave). They have prepared clothing and a coffin and they will again pray you peacefully (so you will enjoy peace). Your descendants will also prepare for you a new house with a loft and a tile roof. You will sleep at the end of heaven. The descendants will prepare a grave for you to rescue you from the unpleasant grave into a pleasant one (by cleaning the bones, giving a new coffin, etc.). To-day you have received a very good house (coffin). You are the right size and height (for clothes and coffin). You must live nicely in there and not again want the descendants to have sickness or pain.

(The mo^5 repeats the above and actually cleans the bones, redresses the corpse, puts it in the coffin, etc. Wine is used to wash the bones. The bones are properly placed in the clothing in the same order as when living.)

XIX. THE CEREMONY OF MAKING THE TSO CHAI OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD

The head of the family has a manager and prepares a pipeful of tabacco for the manager who has come from the outside. The manager from the outside invited by the guests says,

"Yi" he says (the dead person), "I have released field insects (men) to control the long roads. I have released house insects (men from homes) to control the straight roads. I have released a year demon to roll into your house (a living man of one year). I have released a home insect to roll into your house. Your family has set out a big table for the large insect (manager) to sit in and have given him a pipeful of tobacco to smoke. You have arranged a stool for the manager to sit on and prepared a meal for him to eat," (The manager invited by the family itself.)

The manager called by the family says, "You have invited the big insect to come (the manager secured by the guests) to go by the long road. You have released the great insect (manager) to go on the straight road. You have released the big insect to roll into this house. The

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in your home (people of the house) have rolled (come quickly) to our room here. We haven't a big table for the great insect to sit by. We haven't a pipeful of tobacco for the big insect to smoke or a stool for him to sit on or a meal for him to eat."

The manager secured by the guests says, "I do not know whether the great insect (the manager secured by the family) has arrived or not. We run here and look. With hands empty we come (humble). When I have arrived, he lets his hands hang down. When we come, you take a *liu-shêng* and place it in your home. What affair is it?"

Then the manager for the family says, "You come and look. We will place the *liu shêng* in your house. The demon (ceremonial) drum resounds in the house. The dead ancestor has come back to take off the straw mat. (It is believed that at death a man ties one on himself to sleep in. Now it is removed so he can be more comfortable). It is the dead ancestor who has come back to take off the winnowing basket (*bo chi*). When this has been done and the old person's body is made lighter, then he (the dead ancestor) goes to see his ancestors as though the weather were very good."

Then the manager for the guests says, "I·, his parent's soul has come back to remove the straw mat. His old parent's soul has come back to remove the winnowing basket, then we have run here to look. In our hands there is nothing to bring. If a person had, he would bring it and fill up a big room. Whether it is nine jars full of wine or ten jars of wine, they would bring it and fill up a big part of a room. Well, we have come empty-handed. I have said that I have to worship the demons and it is to worship the demon. People can speak. People can walk around the mountain and encircle the water and speak. I am not efficient in speaking. I point with my finger and speak. Others are efficient in speaking. They speak rapidly like the rolling of peaches and pears. I am not an able speaker. I will point with my finger at the basket for carrying things on my back and speak. Now, there is a peck of wheat, a roll of spirit money, a peck of corn, a peck of beans, ten buckets full of fiery wine, a bunch of incense and a pair of candles (given by guests to the family)."

The manager of the family says, "I·, We are unwilling to accept them but probably will do so. If we do not accept them we fear you will say that we are not efficient in accepting and will say that when others come, we will accept but when you come, we will not accept. I·, Probably we will accept and place them in the cesspool of the pig-pen and there will be a noise, then they cannot be seen. I am afraid that I will secretly take them away and cannot return them."

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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ERRATA

Page 109 last line should read:—ancestors for three generations. xʌu^{5} lo^{-2} xʌu^{-5} (Drink some).

[facing p. 109]

The manager chosen by the guests says, "When we come we will tread on the green grass. When we go back we will tread on tall reeds. We have come to be good friends. We are not saying that our gifts are sufficient to secure good will. It is finished. Please sit down. A, please the able ones of the family who can play the *liu shêng* and beat the drum for the dead ancestor to use when he goes and stays near his female and male ancestors for three generations and in Ntsə's flat ground." 765

D. MEMORIAL AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

THESE WERE SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHÊNG TS'AI 熊正才, NOW DECEASED, OF WANG WU CHAI, WHO WAS OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD. HE WAS A SIMPLE FARMER WHO WAS SATURATED WITH THE CUSTOMS AND IDEALS OF HIS PEOPLE AND WAS SAID TO KNOW OVER A THOUSAND FOLK-SONGS.

I. THE G'A GEI OPENS THE WAY FOR THE DEPARTED SOUL TO ITS FUTURE ABODE

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In the g'a gei's hands he carries a rooster. On his back he carries a bow. At his side he wears a beheading knife.

He stands beside the dead person's coffin on the west. In his hand he holds a pair of divining sticks (made of two halves of a bamboo sprout). He then repeats the following formulae.

Three times he calls out the name of the dead person saying, "Arise, arise, arise." As he calls he takes hold of the dead person's hand and pulls as though to lift the dead person up. Then he says:—

A. "I have called you three times and you are unable to reply. I pulled three times but you are unable to rise. You cannot live as a man and so you must live as a demon. Your head is bent down toward ʐ̇aŋ nTo·^{2} na·^{6} Ti·^{5} (soul demon sky big hand earth). You wear the sky like a hat above your head and your head leads towards glaŋ To· na· ntgaŋ (the land of dead souls or demons). I will give you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. If you cannot drink it all do not give it to demons that cause sickness for them to drink. If you cannot drink it give it to the dead demons (demons of dead persons to drink. You give it to your ancestors for three generations. xʌu^{6} lo·^{2} xʌ ·$_{2}$n (Drink some)."

B. "When the demons have drunk, I will lead on the road to heaven. I will offer some meat for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all you must not give it to the demons of sickness or to demons that cause death. You must give it to your ancestors for three generations.

xʌu^{5} lo·^{2} xʌu^{5}. When you have finished eating you must go and stick to the corner of your grandmother's clothes. When you have finished eating, you go and stick to the bottom of grandfather's felt rug."

Then he repeats the following words:—

So·, so·. If I roam over all the world it stirs my mind. I will go unto the road of ŋgʌu^{2} go^{6}. Speaking of the earth, I have gone all over the sky. I went to ga· ʐ̄ɛ^{2} k'o^{6}s residence. When ŋgʌu ga· came at first, she got a flat ground. When ga· ʐ̇ɛ k'o· first came she got a flat in the sky.

I will lead you to ŋgʌu ga's dwelling. I will also lead you to ga· ʐ̇ɛ k'o's dwelling (medicine old man heal). At that time your grandmother and grandfather will also go to ŋgʌu ga·'s dwelling. Then they will also go before you to ga· ʐ̇ɛ k'o's dwelling. When you go, the rooster will go before you. The bamboo divining roots will interpret your words. When your rooster crows and the roosters of your grandmother and your grandfather reply, those are your grandmother and grandfather. If your rooster crows and no rooster answers, those are not your grandparents.

C. I will lead you to your grandparents' dwelling. Your grandparents have a well. When you arrive there, the water is fragrant, you must drink three handfuls, for at that time (when they died) your grandmother and your grandfather also drank this water.

D. Now I will lead you to Ntsə's land in heaven to the dancing altar. You must go past in front of ʐwaŋ ʐwei'ɛ face. By the side of the road he opens his mouth wide. There is also tso· ʐwei (tiger stone) who is lying beside the road. These two want to block the road. At that time you can take a handful of firehemp (not nettles) and tear it to pieces and cover the dragon's lips. You also take some large hemp and cover up the tiger's mouth and after that you can go by (unharmed).

E. Now I will escort you up to the sky (heaven). When you have gone up the ladder to the sky, ascend to the first palace, the second palace, the third palace, the fourth palace, the fifth palace, the sixth palace, the seventh palace, the eighth palace, the ninth palace, the tenth palace, the eleventh palace and the twelfth palace. When you have reached the twelfth pavilion, you will have reached the house in the sky (heaven).

F. Now I will lead you to see the flower-altar. This flower-altar has many people (worshippers). There is a drum altar which is also wonderful. Ah, look. On this road there are very many straw sandal insects, ji·. These straw sandal insects are very numerous on this road. Therefore you quickly make bamboo into sandals and wear them.

You also take shoes made of big hemp and put them on, then you go along stepping on the insects, and step on them as you go until you have trod them to death.

G. I will lead you up onto Ntsə's heaven. You can look at the flowery altar and you can turn around and listen to the cuckoo calling. You also turn around and listen to the cicada singing. When you hear the cuckoo, that is the sound of your descendants below playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 and beating the drums. There is also the cicada singing and that is the weeping of your descendants.

H. Now I am going to lead you to finish dancing at the flowery altar and I will also lead you so you can be born again (as a man) on earth. We will go down the sky ladder. We will descend one pavilion, two pavilions, three pavilions, four pavilions, five pavilions, six pavilions, seven pavilions, eight pavilions, nine pavilions, ten pavilions, eleven pavilions, twelve pavilions. When we have gone past the twelfth pavilion, then we will have arrived on earth. Then you will escape from the womb and turn around on the wheel of life. (This disposes with one soul).

I. Now I will lead you to the grave (one soul). You will have a place with your father and father-in-law. That is the grave hill. You can live with them. (This disposes of a soul in the grave.)

J. Your parents-in-law will ask, "Who brought you here." You must not say that I brought you here. You may say that you came alone.

K. I will take you to the grave to be buried peacefully. You wear bamboo or hemp shoes. I will wear shoes made of vines. I will escort you to your grave and you must stay there forever, (all your life). You must send me back to life (as though his soul escorted the dead and should be sent back and not detained by the dead person's soul.) You wear shoes made of great hemp. I will wear shoes made of the bark of the dogwood tree. I will escort you into the tomb. You must escort me back to my home.

(At this time the rooster is choked to death and then a sharpened bamboo is stuck through the rooster, then it is stuck up in the ground with rooster on it or leaned against the coffin. Divining is done by means of two halves of a joint of bamboo on which there have been leaves.)

764 After a while, an animal is sacrificed and the ceremony proceeds as on the following pages. There are variations. Some use the bow and arrow, others do not.

II. SACRIFICING AN ANIMAL

He calls the dead person three times by name. This time he does not take hold of the dead person's hand.

"Now I call you but you do not reply. I cry to you but you do not awake. Your descendants are giving you an animal to take with you to visit your ancestors for three generations (includes ancestors by marriage.) You take one with you and send back thousands of hundreds (to your descendants.)"

When he has said this, he takes a pair of bamboo divining sticks and gives the animal to the dead person. (When he throws down the divining sticks it is regarded as having given the animal to the dead person.) After that the priest (the g'a gei) pours out three cups of wine then asks the man who is to kill the animal to come and kill it. Then the g'a gei says; "Please take this animal and quickly give it to the dead person to take to Ntsə's level land to see his ancestors for three generations." After this he gives the wine to the person who is to kill the animal; he drinks it and then kills the animal. Then the g'a gei pours out a cup of wine for the man who plays the *liu shêng* and one for the man who beats the drum. He gives the wine to them and says, "I request you to play three roads of *liu shêng* for the dead person. (As much as can be played while going over the road three times) so the dead person can go to Ntsə's land and see his departed ancestors for three generations.

III. WORSHIPPING THE SKY DEMON

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First he takes a rope and ties an old sow securely. He takes a wooden water-dipper or a small bamboo cup and beats it as a drum. He has a number of children to play on bamboo flutes and they are spoken of as playing on the *liu shêng*. The priest carries a big bamboo container or basket (round and flat) in his hands in which he has placed corn, rice and beans. Then the priest speaks as he shakes about the bamboo container and its contents. This is to purify the house (to drive out the evil or unclean demons.)

The feet of the sow are bound so as to point up toward the sky so that she squeals loudly. The priest repeats his formulae. He has a companion come near him and they hold conversation. He says,

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"ʐ̄ɛ nts'ai ʐ̄ɛ lʌu, (the name of the sky demon) come and take an animal from the family. You are in Ntsə's heaven. You have a horse so you ride a horse. I have no horse so I will ride a wind-spirit." Then the priest takes the bamboo divining sticks and throws them into his bamboo basket. He asks, "Has it come or not." His companion then replies, "He has come." Then he says, "Since you have come, I will lead you to return to your home." At this time yellow candles made of beeswax are lighted. All are seated in the guest room. At this time it is not permitted to speak Chinese and women are not permitted to come and look. He continues to speak;

"ʐ̄ɛ nts'ai ʐ̄ɛ lʌu, you are in heaven. Come and take this pig from the old people of this family. This family will give it to you. You have a horse to ride on here. I have come but I have no horse. I will ride a wind-spirit. Are you coming."

The companion replies, "Coming", Then the bamboo divining sticks are again thrown into the basket.

IV. SPEAKING ABOUT FEEDING A PIG AND REPORTING TO THE SKY DEMON

When feeding the pig, feed one handful and then you leave for one year. We feed two handfuls and then you leave for two years. We feed three handfuls and then you leave for three years. We feed five handfuls and you leave for five years. We feed six handfuls and you leave for six years. We feed seven handfuls and you leave for seven years. We feed eight handfuls and you leave for eight years. We feed nine handfuls and you leave for nine years. When we feed him ten handfuls, you stay away a thousand hundreds of years." (Each time as he speaks of feeding a pig, he takes a handful of pigs' food and throws it upon the pig's body.) "ʐ̄ɛ nts'ai ʐ̄ɛ lʌu you are in Ntsə's heaven. You come and take a pig from this family. This family will give it to you. You must make the family's illness light. You must make the family's pains light. Make their mouths and tongues light (lest they anger people), make their wrongs light and make their calamities light. Now we will end this (animal's) life and give it to you. You take it with you. Don't come back for a thousand hundreds of years (a hundred thousand years). Since you have a horse, you ride the horse. I have no horse so I will ride a wind-spirit."

"Has he come?" Then the companion of the priest answers, "He has come." At this time the pig is killed. The pig's blood is mixed with corn-meal and is rolled into biscuits. Hot water must not be poured on the pig. The hair must be

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burnt off and then the skin is scraped off clean with a hoe. When this is finished the pig is cut up into small pieces so that each person gets one piece. (The size varies according to the number present.) What is left over is boiled. Tea is made of the leaves of a bush having thorns and everybody drinks some of the tea.

An offering of pork and this tea is made once. Then evedybody plays on bamboo flutes. When they have finished playing, everybody eats some of the biscuits made of corn and blood (which have been cooked). When they are through eating, the priest says, "ʒ̄ɛ nts'ai ʒ̄ɛ lʌu, have you come?"

Then everybody replies, "He has come."

When they are about to worship the sky demon, they split the skull of the pig open and take the pig's brain and offer it to the demon. They do not tell the demon that it is pig brains but say to the demon, "This is salt." Then they offer some salt and say, "This is ashes we are using to worship you." Then the priest says, "ʒ̄ɛ nts'ai ʒ̄ɛ lʌu. Have you come?" Then all reply, "Come", (that is, he has come). (1) Have you come to eat pig brains, will you come?" (2) They reply, "He has come." He then offers the pig's liver and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." He offers the pig's kidneys and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." He offers the intestines and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." Then in the same way the stomach, some of the bloody biscuits, then rice are offered, each time with the same question and the same answer.

When the above has been finished, they take the ropes used to tie the pig, the bamboo flutes, and the seven wooden knives used to cut the blood biscuits, and they bring them and say, "Now we are going to escort baŋ ts'ə out of doors." Then the priest sings the following song;

"The flowers will slowly fade away."

"jaŋ lʌu gu· hnʌn (Mr. Yang who is excellent at shooting arrows) came for a long time to-day. He will return to Ntsə's plain. Because the Chinese were not efficient in worshipping the sky demon, they wanted me, jaŋ lʌu, to go and help the Chinese worship him. At that time the pig's heart of these Chinese stuck to the cooking-vessel.

And the Chinese said that I, jaŋ lʌu gu· hnʌn ate it.

They said that I swallowed it. So the Chinese brought soldiers and surrounded my house and attacked. Ntgʌu, the Chinese, with an arrow shot me dead.

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He killed me dead below that stone slab
And threw me over the cliff.
Now, ʓ̄ɛ nts'ai ʓ̄ɛ ɬʌu, ah,
Now this family's pig has been killed and eaten up.
The pig pen has been split up and burnt.
You (the demon) go and you must not come back.
We have escorted you to Ntsə's sky to live.
Go, go, go, go.

Then all the ropes that tied the pig, the seven wooden knives, the sticks used in tying the pig, and the bamboo cups are all taken outside and thrown into the mouth of a cave on the side of a cliff. Then the front door of the house is closed and it is not opened again for three days.

V. SONG SUNG WHEN RECEIVING A BRIDE INTO A HOME

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To-day is a lucky day. The heaven and the earth will *k'ai chang* 開張 (begin). One table has four legs. On it are set plates containing food, wine for the guests, to send the gods away (with good will). One table has four legs. A pair of phoenixes visited with the *yüan yang* 鴛鴦 (male and female geese). The Ho family called two go-betweens and the girl's parents invited two also. From to-day at dinner time, they took a brass brush to worship the gods with. Ntsə no· ʓ̄in (a Miao god) is here and all is well.

In the Miao Language Only.

xai, xʌu lo· xai. (Drink again spirit). The flowers are blooming in the forest. The fruit develops up from the roots (of a tree). Bo· Na prepared for the ceremony of receiving the bride. ʓ̄ɛ gi· (the old father) warmed up the ears and eyes of the girl's relatives. (Making them willing to marry the girl off). The Chinese have books and they read their books. We Miao have no books but count the number of days (to determine the lucky and unlucky days, depending on memory). This day has come and we have made arrangements to receive the bride. The Chinese have books and they study their calendars. The Miao have no books. We reckoned up the weather until to-day. The children are all dressed up for a new bride. To-day we have dressed up our son and our daughter-in-law in new clothing. We have them ride mules and dress up the relatives and have them ride mules. We dress up the son and the daughter-in-law like new guests. When our sons and daughters pass along the road (on mules) they are higher than the terrace (above the road.) When the Miao people see, it thy say that probably these are Chinese. When the Chinese see it they say that we are sending a bride, a daughter of a headman.

When we were escorting the bride here, we rode mules. When we came, our daughter came also to the home of you old people here. Let the bride and the groom eat food from one bowl (to denote harmony) and drink water and wine from one cup. When our daughter comes to you here, we will commemorate the lives (souls) of her parents. xʌu lo-xai.

We will make offerings to the life of the house, the life (or soul) in the field, the soul (life) of our lives, the life of the earth, the lives of the bride's ancestors, the life of the ridge, the life of the bend, the life of the seed, the life of the rear of the house, and these lives will come together to eat meat, and together will drink wine.

We will make offerings to the life of the garden, of the front door, of the smaller (side) doors, of the looms, and they will all come together. Xʌu lo- xai. We came halfway and we made offerings to the life of the half-way road. We came through nine bends and made offerings to the lives of the nine bends. We came past the ten bends and there were ten dragons' lives. We made offerings to the ten dragons' lives so they could eat meat. We made offerings to the life of the fogstreaks along the mountain-side so it would come and drink wine and drink it through its lips onto its tongue. When you have drunk, give some to the crazy people along the road (so they will not come). When you have eaten and drunk, you must go and watch the house for the bride's relatives: Come you all, xʌu lo- xai.

We have come to your home and have escorted the bride to see her father and mother-in-law. After three mornings we will take her back to see her father and mother. We have escorted the girl to the home of you old folks. If your meat is good, bring a bowlful. If your wine is good, bring a cupful.

The meat has come but we have not yet eaten it. Wine has come but we have not drunk it. We will turn the spoon over and offer (some wine). We will make offerings to you people here (your lives). We will make offerings to the life of your house, or the rear of the house, the rice-field, the earth, the bed, your ancestors, the front door, the side door, the yard gate, the looms, so they will all come together and eat meat and drink wine. When we have made the offering you come and live with us. Tomorrow, be companions with us, xʌu lo- xai.

We have come to escort the girl here. When we return, you husband and wife, drink wine out of one cup and eat rice out of the same bowl. When you two go together to farm, let the son work on the farm outside and the girl at home. When the son has worked on the farm and returns, his body will be dirty from clay and the bride will come out and speak jokingly and laugh. xʌu lo- xai.

May you (bride and groom) in the future have plenty to eat and when you speak have results, and when others see you, may they praise you.

Once a man and his wife made a clearing. When they did it stirred the mind of lo· ʒwʌn (a very distant family). They began to cut down the deep forest and it disturbed lo· ʒwʌn's liver. They cut down a narrow piece of land and came to climb that mountain.

In the spring the weather was hot and the place was also hot. The sky was very dry. The earth was also very dry. The man took fire and burnt the mountain. The woman also lighted a fire and went with him to burn the mountain. They burnt on both sides as far as the bottom of the mountain. Then the man and the woman came back to sleep. They slept until next morning and the man took the seed and put it into the seam of his garment. The woman also took pumpkin seeds and rice seeds and put them inside a cloth. Then the man scattered three handfuls on the edge of the field and when it grew up it was like brambles. The woman sowed three handfuls in the ground. When it grew up, it was as deep as bitter bamboo. The man also scattered three handfuls on the pass. It grew up like bamboo. The woman sowed three handfuls on the ridge. When it grew up it was like bamboo limbs. The heads of grain were like *kao liang*. Its stalks were like bamboo. A big wind blew which was not good. It blew down the grain as though a person had pushed it over in a pile. The stalks fell down near an artificial terrace. The man could carry only three sheaves. The woman could carry only three stalks. The man carried it to his home. The woman carried it only half-day. Because the woman could not carry, when she had gone half-way she began scolding. The man carried enough to fill up nine rooms. The woman carried enough to fill up nine small lofts. The husband and his wife now had enough to eat. tao ʒ̄ʌn praised them. The two now had enough to eat and to wear. The Miao ʒ̱ʌn praised them.

The wife was standing in the door of her bedroom. The man stood in his golden door. (Probably this is poetical). The mother had nine daughters. The husband had ten sons. The older brother was without a name and they named him ʒ̇ɛ fu· (old person happiness). The second oldest was named ʒ̄ɛ gy. When the oldest brother grew up, he walked through the door of the heavenly well very happily. When the younger brother went through that door he carried a plow beam on his shoulders.

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There was a third son who was named ʒ̄ɛ i lʌu (old one left side). The next younger was named ʒ̄ɛ i lʌn.

When the oldest brother went out of the heavenly well, he at once began studying how to sing. When the next older went out of the heavenly well, he at once began studying how to play the *liu shêng.* The oldest brother sang songs like the singing of orioles. The next younger brother played the *liu shêng* like the singing of the red bird.

The mother had nine daughters and could not find enough names for them. She named the second one Ma ntso (sister able at weaving) She named the oldest sister ma mba (s[illegible] silk). The second oldest sister went out of the heavenly well door and remembered to work at the loom. The oldest sister went through the door of the heavenly well and remembered to work the wheel to wind thread. When she trod the wheel it resounded. When the loom (turned) it sounded as though laughing.

The mother had nine daughters. The father had ten sons. Another daughter was named ma·^{5} mao·^{2} (cat). An older sister was named ma·^{5} mbai^{2} (cousin). When the younger sister went out of the door (in the morning when they went out of the sleeping-rooms) of the heavenly well, she remembered and made embroidery. When the older sister went out of the door of the heavenly well, she remembered to dye flowery skirts.

The mother had nine daughters, the father ten sons. An older brother had no name. He was named ʒ̄ɛ gʌu. The younger brother was named ʒ̄ɛ gʌu gʌn. The older brother, when he went out, did not discuss people's daughters. When the younger brother went out, he did not discuss people's wives. When the older brother went out, he wanted to find money to use in engaging a wife. When the younger brother went also, he also wanted to find money with which to engage a wife.

There was another older brother who was named ʒ̄ɛ la· (happy). There was another younger brother whom they named ʒ̄ɛ lo· (big). When the older brother went out of the heavenly well, he went to sell pigs. When the younger brother went out of the heavenly well, he went to sell cattle. The older brother drove the younger brother's cows to the city Wu Chiu. The younger brother drove some pigs to Chengtu. The older brother gained enough silver to fill up a big bag. The younger brother sold the pigs and made enough gold to fill a big bag. The older brother could not carry all his silver. The younger had silver and helped his older brother carry some silver. The older brother used his silver to buy an old rice-field. The field that the older brother bought had its boundaries on the pass. That boundary, if a Chinese came, even he could not take away.

The field that the younger brother (bought) had a boundary on the ridge. If the Lolos came, even they could not take it away. Let the sons of the Lolos come to contest the boundary and we will spank them with a board, (disrespectful joking).

A Chinese came and struggled for the field that the younger brother bought. The younger brother used bamboo slats and spanked the Chinese.

The older brother erected a house with his silver. He would not talk much. He hid his silver under the tiles of his house.

The younger erected a house with his gold. He hid his gold under some tile and covered it up.

The older brother's house (which he built) he ornamented with images on the roof, and they pointed towards Suifu.

The house the younger brother lived in had four wings (like birds) and they pointed towards Shang Ling.

When the older brother went out of his heavenly well, he was like a good official in the city. When the younger brother came out of his house (heavenly well) he was like an older son of an emperor.

The older brother had a big mother cat. Her kittens were all males.

The younger raised pigs as numerous as the sands. All the young pigs were males.

The water buffaloes came up to the pass. Their calves were all bulls. He raised dogs. The pups were all males.

If you raise chickens, you need fine sand. The chicks hatched were all males. The ducks were in the bamboo grove. The rats in the house were a big band in front of the fire-grate.

xʌu lo- xai.

If I make offerings to the ancestors, I have no foundation. I have delayed you old people who sat and waited for things to eat to come and they (edibles) did not come. I have no foundation for offering domestic animals. I have delayed you, a band of old people, for you have seen things but you could not get them to eat. You couldn't even taste the wine. xʌu lo- xai.'